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AUTHOR Ben-David, Joseph; Adler, Haim
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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the effect of different school atmospheres on the career aspirations and the actual careers of students. The sample included 60 11th grade students from one high prestige, one less prestigeous general high school and from one technical high school in three cities in Israel and a similar sample of young men who graduated from the same schools ten years earlier. The students were investigated through a questionnaire. The graduates were interviewed personally or, if abroad, were sent mail questionnaires. Occupational aspirations of the students are discussed. An absence of differentiation in career plans between the schools was found although differences between the schools with regards to educational aspiration existed. The students who graduated ten years earlier are discussed in terms of the relationship between aspirations of the present day students and the past aspirations and, the actual careers of the graduates. An important conclusion was that there has been great stability through time in the population, attitudes and occupational behavior of the students of these schools. The questionnaire, appendix and tables are included. (Author/EW)

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I. The Purpose of the Study, Sample and Procedures

The original purpose was to investigate the effect of different types of school atmospheres on the career aspirations and the actual career mobility of the students.[1] Aspirations and mobility were measured by educational as well as occupational levels aspired to by past and present students in the different schools and actually attained by former students. School atmosphere is a much more diffuse thing than aspirations, and an attempt was made to describe it by asking the students about the relations between themselves and the teachers; the values of the teachers, the purpose of study at a high school; the existence of certain educational social and administrative characteristics at the school and their attitudes towards these characteristics; and their attitudes towards going to school, and towards manners and norms of moral conduct prevailing at the school. In addition there were questions about the economic and educational attainments of parents and siblings, the perceived expectations of teachers and friends,of the occupational and educational chances of the respondents and the scholastic attainments of the respondents (this last item was ascertained from the school records, cf. also Appendix I for questionnaire).

The sample was to include 60 11th grade students from one old established high prestige and selective, one less prestigeful non-selective general high school and from one technical high school in each of the three principal cities in Israel and a similar sample of young men who graduated from the same schools ten years earlier. In order to obtain such a sample we had to include different fractions of the total student population in the different schools. In three of the schools, however, the total number of 11th grade students was less than this, and in one school the administration agreed to conduct the investigation in only two classes. Hence, less than 60 students were investigated in each of these four schools. Furthermore, from the analysis of the data it appeared that one of the traditionally high prestige schools, and one of those which was considered by us as low prestige, were in many respects somewhere in between the two extreme categories. In some of the tables, therefore, a threefold classification was used (high, medium, low).

The smaller than desired size of these populations did not prevent statistically meaningful comparisons between the various schools, but it reduced the possibilities of making comparisons between students following different types of curricula.[2] In order to make possible such comparisons, we increased the size of the sample in two large schools (one general and one vocational) which agreed to this. As a result we obtained a more or less complete spread of curricular types, which exist in Israel high schools.

Furthermore we have used the opportunity to administer the questionnaire to the girls attending the same classes as the boys. As all the classes in the general high schools were co-educational, this did not require a great deal of additional investment in the collection of the data. With the exception of a single item (cf. footnote 8), the analysis of the material about the girls is, however, not included in this report.

Since the graduate populations were even smaller, and since it was not possible to locate them all, we included, as far as possible, the graduates of two classes in our sample, those of 1955-56 and those of 1956-57. Finally, because of limitation of funds, the sample of the graduates includes only three general (the high prestige ones) and three vocational high schools. The following table summarizes the information about the sample. (cf. Table 1)

TABLE 1

Students and Graduates Included in the Sample by School and Sex

(numbers and percentages of all students in same grade and of all graduates in same year.)

Schools	11th graders in 1965/66		Graduates from 1956/57 and 1957/58		
	Boys	% of all boys in same grade	Numbers	% of all graduates in the same years	Girls numbers (1965/66)
No. 1	54	61	55	75	27
No. 2	95	66	105	70	76
No. 3	67	90	63	68	47
No. 4	47	100	-	-	32
No. 5	60	81	-	-	50
No. 6	31	100	-	-	77
No. 7	75	54	41	70	-
No. 8	43	100	50	32	-
No. 9	200	73	69	76	-
Totals	673		383		309

Except in school number 1, the student populations are representative of the total 11th grade populations of their schools. In school number 1 only two classes, one mathematical-physical, and one biological class were included in the sample. Judging from the sample as a whole, there are no differences in the social attitudes and expectations of students concentrating in these fields and those concentrating in humanities and social studies in the same schools.[3] They have been treated, therefore, as representing this school in most of the comparisons which have been made.

The students were investigated by means of a questionnaire which was filled out in the classroom. The graduates were interviewed personally, and those of them (about 20 percent) who were abroad, were sent mail questionnaires. The questions were in many cases differently worded in the group questionnaire than in the personal interviews.

As the questionnaires were administered in the classrooms during the regular school hours, the participation of all those present was assured. The lists of the graduates and their scholastic attainments as high school students was obtained from the school records. Their addresses were obtained from the same source, and where necessary, updated from the general population registry. With the exception of one school, between two-thirds and three-quarters of the graduates were located and interviewed. The addresses of nearly all of those who were abroad were obtained and they were all approached. Of those who were abroad 75 per cent replied to the mail questionnaire.

One of the important findings of the study has been that in many respects the distributions of replies in the different schools was very similar. This was especially marked in the answers to the questions probing the criteria by which teachers and peers judge performance at school and occupational attainments and in the attitudes towards the occupational system of the country (cf. below pp. 12-24).

This suggested two conclusions:

(1) That the differences in the atmospheres of the schools were mainly the result of differences between their scholastic levels and purposes (general-technical) and not of the traditions, and values of the schools or the character of the city. Even where there were differences in the traditions and values of the different schools, such as in the friendliness or detachment between teachers and students, the feeling of comfort at school, and the belief in the (practical) utility of education, these had little or no influence on aspirations.[4] The latter were determined by the scholastic standing of the school, the attainment of the student and, to a limited degree, by the status of the parents. The presentation of these findings will constitute the major part of the report.

(2) That the sample, although selected for the sole purpose of investigating differences between schools may well be representative of the relevant parts of the Israel high school population, namely 11th graders in general and technical schools in the large cities in schools which prepare their students for the matriculation examination. This is, of course, only a possibility

which needs further investigation. Unfortunately there is no information on the parameters of the relevant population. A comparison was, therefore, made of the present sample with different sections of the population by area of birth. Table 2 contains a comparison with the general 11th grade student population.

TABLE 2

All (Jewish) 11th Graders, Graduates of Matriculation Examination and Sample by Area of Birth (Percentages) (1965/66)

	Born in Israel	Asia-Africa	Europe-America	Total
All 11th Graders	64.7	16.6	18.7	100% (N=21.334)
Graduates of Matriculation Examination	57.2	9.7	33.1	100% (N= 7.908) *
Sample	70	7.0	23.0	100% (N = 673)

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1966, No. 17 p. 495, Table T/12 and p. 600 Table T/18, and 1967 No. 18 p. 598, Table T/21.

* Does not include 135 graduates whose characteristics are unknown.

As for 1956/57 there is no information by grades, in high school population (grades 9-12) with that of our sample of graduates.

As it has been pointed out, there are, unfortunately, no data to compare our samples with the relevant part of the general population, namely full time 11th grade students attending general or technical high schools preparing for the matriculation. Since, however, the selectivity of this type of high school sharply increases in the 11th grade and since it is known that one of the main effects of this selectivity is the dropping out of the school (of this advanced type) of a very high proportion of youth coming from Asian and North-African background, it is very likely that the sample is representative in this respect of the total population of 11th grade high school students. This influence is supported by the statistics matriculation examination. It is a plausible guess, therefore, that in all those respects where there are no differences in this sample between the various schools, the findings are indicative of the situation in the general student population of the three large cities. In any event, in these cases, the findings are representative of the total population of 11th graders in the schools participating in the study.

TABLE 3

Students in General High Schools and Sample of Graduates by Area of Origin (Percentages - 1956/57)

	Born in Israel	Asia-Africa	Europe-America	Total
All Students in General High School	70.9	10.5	18.6	100% (N=14.888)
Sample	77.0	2.0	21.0	100% (N= 383)

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Education - "Yediot Bestatistica Hinuhit" No.4 1963 pp.8-10, Tables 5-7.

II. Occupational Aspirations

1) The large majority of the student population have high educational aspirations. 91-100 per cent of the students in the general high schools intend to go on to universities and even in technical high schools, 75-78% have such intentions. In addition, they all faced two and half years of military service at the age of 18. As a result, their occupational aspirations could not be expected to be very stable. A majority of those attending general, and nearly half of those attending technical high schools said that their occupational plans were not yet crystallized.

Nevertheless, even those who regarded their plans as not yet crystallized had some kinds of plans. As it can be seen from Table 4 students from the general high schools chose almost exclusively professional careers. Even in the technical high schools there were a majority who chose such careers.

TABLE 4

Occupational Choice by Type of School. (Percentages)

Type of school	Occupational Choice						
	Total	Professions not specified	Engineering	Medicine	Skilled Worker Craftsman	Other Prof.	Other non-professional
General high school	100	44	21	9	26		
Technical	100	7	52	-	31	10	

Since some of those choosing to be skilled workers plan to attend university, they probably consider skilled work only as a transitional career.

The outstanding impression conveyed by this table is the absence of differentiation in the career plans. As such a large majority intend to go into the professions, there is little scope left to analyze the correlates of the small differences which can be found. The only indication that occupational aspirations were influenced by scholastic achievements comes from small, but significant associations between the answers to two questions: The students self-rating on a six point scale according to their perception of (a) their teachers, and (b) their colleagues' opinion about them as students on the one hand, and their aspiration concerning the level they hoped to attain in their future careers on the other. (Table 5). But in this case too, the most important result was the generally high percentage of those who hoped to attain "high" or "very high" levels in their careers.

TABLE 5

Associations Between Level of Career Aspiration and Students Perception of (1) Colleagues and (2) Teachers Opinion about them By Type of School.

	General High School	Technical School
	Gamma	Gamma
(1) Colleagues	.30*	.38*
(2) Teachers	.30*	.29**

* p = <.001

** p = <.01

This undifferentiated and overly optimistic view of the future is probably the result of the remoteness of the actual entrance into the occupational system. The plans are, therefore, vague and unrealistic. This interpretation is supported by the answers to a series of further questions concerning occupational choice which all show that this problem has very low saliency in the expectations directed towards the students from their social surroundings. In answer to the questions: "What does your favorite friend teacher expect you to be in twenty years from now?" 24 per cent in the general and 30 per cent in the technical high schools answered that they did not know what their favorite friend expected them to be, and 40-38 per cent said that they did not know what the expectations of their favorite teachers were. Thus, in about a fourth to one third of the cases these matters were not discussed among best friends, and in more than a third of the cases there was no indication of interest in this matter even on the part of the best liked teachers. It is particularly striking that (1) a higher percentage of the students in the technical schools is unaware of his friends expectations than in the general schools; (2) only 17 per cent of the technical school students replied that their teachers expected them to be craftsman; and (3) none of them thought that the teachers expected them to be factory workers. Thus the atmosphere of all the schools is oriented to study and not to preparation for an occupation. The schools instill a general aspiration towards professional careers. This is probably more the result of a general feeling that further studies have become a social norm than an expectation based on the evaluation of the potentialities of the student. This disjunction between high school attainments and expectations for the future are also reflected in the relatively high percentage of those who think that their favorite teachers and/or friends expect them to become scientists or scholars (cf. Table 6).

TABLE 6

Occupational Expectations of Favorite Teacher and Friend by Type of School (Percentages)

Type of School	Expectations			
	Professional person	Scientist or scholar	Other	Don't Know
General				
Teacher	19	23	18	40
Friend	34	21	21	24
Technical				
Teacher	26	8	28*	38
Friend	39	7	24	30

* includes 17% "craftsman"

Somewhat unexpectedly, this relatively limited interest in the occupational plans is also shared by the parents. Although, as it will be shown later, most of them have occupational plans for their sons, 30 per cent in the different schools only "express their views" on the subject; 18-32 per cent "give advise" and 2-23 per cent "try to persuade" or "force their views" on the children. It seems that for the parents, too, the most important concern is that their children should successfully complete their high school education, obtain the matriculation certificate, and go into higher education upon completion of their military service rather than nurturing some definite occupational goals.

2) The views of the students about the determinants of occupational success in the country are consistent with their generally high aspirations. In answer to a question "what determines the occupational advancement of a person in this country?" the following rank order of determinants was chosen from a list of alternatives.

1. ability; education and training
2. perseveration and personal effort; good connections
3. party or organizational membership
4. luck; being an old-timer in the country; ethnic origin; savings and being satisfied with little.

To further questions whether persons belonging to any particular groups possessed special advantages or disadvantages concerning occupational advancement, "those who have good connections" were mentioned in the first place as possessing special advantages, while "oriental origin" was mentioned most frequently as the cause of special disadvantage. There were two additional questions probing the status positions of different groups: (1) "Which people have more (or less) influence than the average?" and (2) "Which people are honored more (or less) than the average?". There was practical unanimity that members of the ruling parties (there has always been a coalition government in Israel the core of which has been the Israel labor party) had more influence than the average. About those having less than average influence, the opinions have been divided. Some thought "those of oriental origin," while in the rest of the schools the majority thought "those who had no education."

The most frequently mentioned source of more than average prestige was high education followed by high income, and the most frequently mentioned source of negative prestige were "oriental origin" followed by "lack of education."

Significantly the schools where "oriental origin" was most frequently mentioned as a source of occupational disadvantage and negative prestige (50-53% occupational disadvantage; 18-21% negative prestige) were the three most prestigeful ones where the proportion of students of oriental origin is very low. In the schools which have a relatively high proportion of oriental students, those mentioning it as an occupational disadvantage ranged between 40-23% and those considering it as a source of negative prestige ranged between 12-3 per cent.

These views reflect more a concern with bridging the existing gap between the western and oriental groups in the country - particularly prevalent in the élite schools and in the families whose children attend them – than the experience of discrimination. The low percentage mentioning oriental origin as a source of negative prestige supports this interpretation.

It appears, therefore, that the overall view of the system of social stratification is that it works according to the values of achievement which are imparted at school. Ability, education and training count most, origin, luck, and other ascriptive conditions are practically never mentioned as important conditions of occupational success. Among ascriptive conditions only "good connections" are considered as important, but also not as a condition of first importance. (Table 7)

TABLE 7

"Occupational Success in Israel Depends on the Following:
(Percentages of those mentioning condition as "most important" for occupational success") ByType of School (Students Population)

	General High School	Technical School
Education and Training	26%	28%
Perseverance and Personal Initiative	18%	29%
Ability	25%	15%
Good Connections	15%	16%
Party Membership	6%	2%
Length of Stay in Israel	3%	1%
Luck	1%	1%
Place of Origin	-	2%
Saving for the future and being contant with little	-	-
No information (N)	15	21
N	339	297

There is hardly a difference between the replies of students in general schools as compared with those in technical ones. The only difference worth mentioning is the greater tendency of students in the latter schools to mention "perseverance and personal initiative", and their tendency to underestimate "ability." This might be the result of the fact that graduates of vocational schools often turn to modes of employment in which an individual's initiative is crucial; on the other hand, "ability" seems to be associated with scholarly and theoretical, rather than practical or technogical interests.

The existence of specially advantaged or disadvantaged groups is only mentioned in response to special probing. And there is little consensus about who has special advantages and who has special disadvantages. The only exceptions are the consensus about the greater influence of members of the ruling parties, and about the greater prestige of the highly educated. The latter, of course, is consistent with a system where ability and achievement are the most important determinants of occupational success. The former, however, implies some lack of confidence about equality of influence on the political process. It will be seen later (p. 25) that this is consistent with the preferences shown towards employment in the different sectors of the economy and towards self employment.

3) In the assessment of their own prospects the students use the same criteria as they do when judging the determinants of status in general. To the question: "On what basis do you assess your prospects?" (to realize

occupational plans), 90-100 per cent in the different schools chose "my talents and abilities"; and "the efforts which I shall devote to the matter". Other bases of the assessment of success were "the efforts devoted to the matter by my parents and/or other people related to me" (43-73%) and "the good connections of my parents with people who can help me" (12-28%). To a further question asking them to rank according to their importance a number of things they would need for the realization of their plans, the following overall rank order was obtained:

1. hard work
2. constant further study while at work
3. connections with people
4-5. support of the parents; a lot of money
6. luck
7. connections with organizations.

The expectations of financial help from the parents is around 70% in the general high schools and around 50% in the technical ones. This latter may be connected with the possession of valuable skills by the graduates of the technical schools, but is probably also a result of the economic status of the parents. This is also suggested by the return from one of the general high schools which caters to students from less well to do strata. There only 44% of the students expect to obtain help from their parents.

There is, therefore, considerable congruence between the way these students perceive the working of the occupational system and their own chances within it. They rely first and foremost on their own talents and efforts. In addition, those who know that their parents can help them, expect to be helped. But unlike talent and hard work, parental help is not perceived as a necessary condition for high aspiration, and expectation of success. A large majority, 62-73% in the different schools assess their prospects of realizing their occupational plans either as "good" or "very good". The whole group perceives itself as highly mobile, if the percentage aspiring to professional occupations among the children is compared with the percentage engaged in the professions among the parents. There is no relationship between parental occupation and the occupation aspired to (cf. Tables 8, 9).[6]

4) It has been seen what kind of work our students are looking forward to, and how they perceive the occupational structure and their prospects within it. It has to be seen now what kind of satisfactions they expect to obtain from work. They were asked "what are the advantages of the occupation you intend to choose?" and instructed to choose and rank in their order of importance, 3 out of a list of 11 "advantages." In all the schools "interesting" was the most important advantage, followed by "suited to my talents." Other advantages were mentioned in the following order: 3) possibility for advancement; 4) opportunity for initiative; 5) income security; 6) high income; 7) service to the country. Hardly mentioned at all, and then as of only third importance were 8) prestige; 9) family tradition; 10) absence of physical exertion; 11) absence of psychological strain.

TABLE 8

Occupational Aspirations of Students by Father's Occupation (General High School students).

Son / Father	Professions*	Engineering	Physicians	Administration	Business	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Professions	61% 19 14%	7% 2 3%	17% 5 17%	3% 1 7%	3% 1 25%	3% 1 11%	3% 1 2%	100% 30 9%
Engineering	47% 13 14%	22% 6 3%	4% 1 17%	4% 1 7%	-	4% 1 11%	19% 5 2%	100% 27 8%
Physicians	33% 2 1%	-	17% 3%	33% 2 13%	-	17% - 11%	-	100% 6 2%
Administration	45% 61 44%	22% 30 45%	7% 10 33%	4% 5 33%	-	1% 2 22%	19% 26 46%	100% 134 42%
Business	31% 13 9%	21% 9 14%	7% 3 10%	5% 2 13%	7% 3 75%	-	29% 12 21%	100% 42 13%
Skilled worker	38% 25 18%	24% 16 24%	12% 8 27%	6% 4 27%	-	6% 4 44%	14% 9 16%	66 20%
Other	44% 7 5%	19% 3 5%	13% 2 6%	-	-	-	25% 4 7%	100% 16 5%
Total	44% 140 100%	21% 66 100%	9% 30 100%	5% 15 100%	1% 4 100%	3% 9 100%	18% 57 100%	100% 321 100%

* Excluding engineers and physicians.

TABLE 9

Occupational Aspirations of Students by Father's Occupation. (Technical Schools students)

Son / Father	Professions *	Engineering	Administration	Business	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Professions	-	50% 2 1%	-	-	50% 2 2%	-	100% 4 1%
Engineering	-	36% 4 3%	-	-	55% 6 7%	9% 1 4%	100% 11 4%
Administration	5% 5 28%	54% 57 38%	1% 1 25%	1% 1 100%	27% 28 31%	13% 14 50%	100% 106 37%
Business	11% 3 17%	57% 16 11%	-	-	25% 7 8%	7% 2 7%	100% 28 10%
Skilled worker	6% 8 44%	49% 62 41%	2% 3 75%	-	34% 44 49%	7% 9 32%	100% 126 43%
Other	13% 2 11%	60% 9 6%	-	-	13% 2 2%	13% 2 7%	100% 15 5%
Total	6% 18 100%	52% 150 100%	1% 4 100%	1 100%	31% 89 100%	13% 28 100%	100% 290 100%

* Excluding engineers.

The interesting thing about this list is that the occupational values emphasized most strongly by socialist ideology and legislation in Israel, (namely income security and service to the country); as well as the occupational values of Jewish tradition (prestige; traditional family occupation; absence of physical exertion) are all on the bottom of the list.

It appears, therefore, that these occupational values are not determined by ideology, but by the perception of the occupational system. These students relate themselves to the upper-middle and upper reaches of a rapidly industrializing and scientifically and technologically advancing welfare society. The aspects which they value in occupations are those which are scarce and valued in such a society.[7]

This explains the low evaluation of such things as income security and high income. It is unlikely that students are uninterested in these things. In fact their answers to the questions about their expected standards of living show that they expect these standards to rise considerably as compared to those of their parents. But they probably feel that these things are more or less given and not something to be attained by individual effort. The attitude towards "service to the country" may have a different explanation. They all expect to serve in the army, and they consider this service as the most important way to serve their country. They know that this service is a sacrifice from the point of view of their future careers, and are, therefore, inclined to view their occupational values in disjunction from "service to the country".

They seek in their future occupations an opportunity for self-expression (which may imply "personal development" as well as "career" in the economic sense) and initiative.

There is an indication, however, that those who choose to become physicians and engineers, may be slightly more career oriented than those choosing professions in general. This can be seen from the following table. (Table 10)

TABLE 10

Occupational Choice and Perceived Occupational Advantages in General Schools (Percentage)

	Professionals in general %	Physicians & Engineers %
Interest	88	81
Ability	71	65
Initiative	38	29
Income Security	25	34
Advancement	29	30
High Income	18	26
N	147	99

Whereas the first three categories may be considered as dealing with "intrinsic" occupational characteristics, (Interest, Ability, Initiative) – the three latter deal with the more "external" occupational characteristics (Income Security, Advancement, High Income); in other words, the three latter characteristics are those which view an occupation as a career. The table suggests that those subjects who choose "profession" in general tend to view their future in terms of the intrinsic characteristics of their work; on the other hand, those who plan a career in medicine or engineering, view their future occupation slightly more in terms of its economic benefits.

5) In contrast to their own views, the students perceive the views of their parents as more in accordance with institutional usage and tradition. When asked "what are the advantages which your parents see in this occupation?" (the one preferred by them for their son) the following rank order was obtained:

1. income security
2. ability of child
3. interest
4. prestige
5. possibilities of advancement
6. high income
7. individual initiative
8. absence of physical exertion
9. traditional family occupation
10. service to the country
11. absence of psychological stress.

This difference is in line with the perceived difference between the child's own occupational plans and the plans of his parents for him (cf. Tables 11 A and B) While the categories in table 11 B are too gross to

TABLE 11

Occupational Aspirations of Students by Parent's Expectation

A. General High Schools

Son / Father	Profession	Engineering	Physicians	Other	Total
Professions	67% 72 51%	9% 10 15%	2% 2 7%	21% 23 27%	100% 107 33%
Engineering	18% 12 9%	57% 39 58%	3% 2 7%	22% 15 18%	100% 68 21%
Physicians	39% 20 14%	8% 4 6%	30% 20 66%	14% 7 8%	100% 51 16%
Other	38% 36 26%	15% 14 21%	6% 6 20%	41% 39 46%	100% 95 30%
Total	44% 140 100%	21% 67 100%	9% 30 100%	26% 84 100%	100% 321 100%

B. Technical Schools

Son / Father	Engineering	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	73% 114 74%	15% 23 25%	12% 19 37%	100% 156 53%
Skilled worker	15% 13 8%	65% 51 56%	20% 14 27%	100% 78 26%
Other	43% 27 18%	27% 17 19%	3% 18 35%	100% 62 21%
Total	52% 154 100%	31% 91 100%	17% 51 100%	100% 296 100%

show any difference, those in table 11 A comparing the child's plans with those of his parents in the general high schools show a difference between the child's and the parent's preferences. The latter choose more often physician and "others" (which includes such things as administrative or business careers) and considerably less "professionals" in general (which includes scientists, humanists and other intellectuals). These differences between the parents and the children are, however, slight. They show that in a minority of the cases, the parents are perceived as somewhat more practical and traditional in their preferences than their children. But not sufficiently so as to cause conflict. They do not want the children to follow in their own occupational footsteps, and they too attribute great importance to the suitability of the job to their child's talents and interests.

6) The cognitive map which has been described here is a very general perspective of the occupational opportunities by a group of educationally mobile young people. Their occupational preferences are not yet concrete plans, but only a general strategy to get through higher education into positions of advantage. The main conceived advantage is entrance into professional careers which are interesting and which provide a scope for initiative and growth.

Their assessment of their own chances is perceived optimistically within a system which works more or less in accordance with their own preferences. This harmony between the system and their own preferences is, however, limited to the criteria of getting ahead which determine their relative opportunities to those of others, but does not extend to their assessment of the efficiency of the occupational system or the congeniality of the actual conditions of work.

In these latter respects the wishes expressed by the students are in sharp contrast to the conditions prevailing in Israel. About half in all the schools preferred self-employment to being employed by others. Among those who preferred salaried work the order of preference was private firms; civil service and last of all in other branches of the public sector. (Table 12)

TABLE 12

Preferences for Sector of Future Employment and Type of Employment by Type of School (percentages)

Preferred Type of Employment	Preferred Sector	Type of school	
		General	Vocational
Salaried employee in	Government sector	19%	21%
" " "	Public non-governmental sector	14%	12%
" " "	Private sector	17%	14%
Self Employed		50%	52%
No information (N)		13	8
Total N		341	310

TABLE 13

Expectations as to Authority Position in Future Job (percentages)

(The question: "In your future job, would you like to be?")

Expected Authority	Type of school	
	General	Technical
In charge of many but not under anyone's supervision	9%	8%
In charge of few but not under anyone's supervision	14%	16%
In charge of many but also under the supervision of others	18%	19%
In charge of few but also under the supervision of others	20%	25%
In charge of no one and not under anyone's supervision	34%	28%
In charge of no one with some supervision by others	5%	3%
No answer (N)	19	5
Total N	335	313

This is a surprising finding, as there are very few self employed professional people in Israel, and it is safe to assume that most of the students investigated, were well aware of this fact.

The meaning of this unrealistic attitude has been clarified by the answer to another question concerning authority inwork (cf. Table 13). With the exception of one technical and one general high school, the modal answer was "to be in charge of no one and subject to no one." Thus although a very large majority aspired to reach the top grades in their future occupations, only a minority chose to achieve this through being in charge of many others (Tables 13, 14).

TABLE 14

"What Grade do You Expect to Reach in your Future Occupation? by Type of School (Students population)

Grade	Type of school	
	General	Technical
Very high	20.8%	12.7%
High	66.5%	71.7%
Average	12.5%	15.3%
Low	0.2%	0.2%
Total	100%	100%
N	340	316

Not only are these aspirations in contradiction with the opportunities prevailing in the country in general, but they are also in sharp contrast with the experience of this specific group of young people. The percentage of self employed among their parents does not exceed thirty and among the graduates of the same schools from ten years earlier it does not exceed fifteen (Table 15).

TABLE 15

Fathers and Graduates by Type and Sector of Employment

(Percentages)

		Type of school			
		Fathers		Graduates	
Type of Employment	Sector	General High School	Technical	General High School	Technical
Salaried and wage earner in	Government & military	21%	15%	23%	22%
" " "	Public, non-governmental	20%	25%	27%	28%
" " "	Private	29%	31%	33%	31%
Self employed	"	28%	27%	14%	12%
Kibbutz		-	1%	7%	7%
Unemployed & retired		1%	1%	1%	-
No information (N)		23	28	31	3
N		331	290	192	157

This shows that there is among these students a dissatisfaction with and a wish to change the prevailing patterns of the organization of work in Israel. Their attitudes reflect the fairly widespread criticism of the ubiquitous and cumbersome bureaucracies and of the distrust of the direction of all kinds of economic activity by governmental and other political and semi governmental organizations. (The most important of which are the General Federal Federation of Labor and the Jewish Agency).

To sum up, there is an ambiguity in the student's perception of the occupational system and the perception of their own chances in it. They are satisfied with the values of the system and reveal a great deal of status security as to their future, almost irrespective of type of school they study in. An overwhelming majority intends to proceed to higher education and study mainly towards engineering, medicine or professional careers; two-thirds to three-quarters of the students conceive of their chances to fulfill these future occupational plans as good or excellent, and as mainly dependent on their own talent, ability and effort; between fourty four to seventy per cent are confident of their parents' assistance in realizing their future plans. On the other hand, they object to the patterns of bureaucratic organization and to political interference with productive work. This objection is consistent with their belief that members of the ruling parties have undue influence in politics. This impels them to prefer conditions of work which they know are imaginary, and narrows down their occupational choice. Political positions seem to be both blocked and unattractive, and business is rejected. Aspirations are directed towards science, the professions or any other career acquired through higher learning.

This acceptance of the values as well as the rules of conduct underlying the occupational system on the one hand, and a feeling of estrangement from the political, organizational, and perhaps also economic frameworks which sustains the system is a common feature of modern youth culture. It can be interpreted as an expression of the "idealistic" orientation of the educational system, and as a preparation for a prolonged stay within the system which is the intention of this youth. The schools which they attend emphasize intellectual achievement and individual mastery of the subject matters they study. This is to a large extent the case even in the technical schools. They stress technical competence too, but in view of the long term plans of the majority to continue with their studies, technical competence becomes only valuable if coupled with mastery of the theoretical studies. The ideal, as it has been seen, is not the craftsman, but the engineer. Thus what is picked out as valuable and relevant from the values of a modern occupational system, are the things which are also important at school: ability, interest, continued study, etc., while income, job security, and prestige are taken for granted. In accordance with this, they prefer professional careers which they consider as directly continuous with the school in their norms and values, and refrain from politics and business which are not directly related to studies and success in which is dependent on the amassing of power and wealth rather than on intellectual and technical mastery of something one is personally interested in. This is also consistent with rejection of bureaucratic frameworks of work. Although the school is a bureaucratic framework too, the bureaucratic aspects of the school are imposed on the student. He takes (if at all) only a marginal part in the formulation of the goals and the rules of the school, and, most importantly, he cannot advance or make any career in the school as an organization. Only through personal success in his studies can he obtain socially important rewards. Nothing in this situation arouses any identification with the bureaucratic aspect of the role of the student, or of any other role at school.

This is not say that being a student is a sufficient condition to identify with the student's role, to the extent that its values (as defined by the school) are projected into the future occupational role. That this happens to be the case in the present population is the result of (a) a far-reaching (perceived) consensus of parents, teachers and probably other influences, such as newspapers and radio about the occupational value of education and the desirability (or even moral superiority) of professional to other types of work; (b) a perception that the way the occupational system works provides a fair, but not too easy (75 to 83 per cent thought that "getting ahead in life in Israel" was "difficult"*) opportunity to advancement and self-expression in work; and (c) that politics, business, and bureaucracy appear as unattractive alternatives, probably due to the dissatisfactions which they (inevitably) engender, and which are constantly advertised by private and public criticism in a free democracy.

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* The pre-coded alternatives were: very difficult, difficult,easy, very easy.

III. Educational Aspirations

1) Unlike the occupational plans which relate to things that are outside the first hand experience of the students, their educational plans are directly related to their present school life. The type of school, and the type of curriculum, which they chose or for which they were chosen is, at least, an indication of future possibilities. And so is the scholastic success. It has been assumed, therefore, that there will be significant relationships between the scholastic situation of the students, and their relevant subjective perceptions and attitudes on the one hand, and their plans for the future on the other.

The scholastic situation has been defined by the type and reputation of the school; the educational attainments of the student measured by his grades at school; his perceived reputation at school; and the educational attainments of his parents. The subjective attitudes and plans related to the above were: the amount of stress experienced by the student in attending school; the criteria according to which he evaluates his school; his perception of the occupational and status system of the country; and his occupational values as reflected in his answers to the question "what are the advantages of the occupation that you chose"? (cf. above pp. 12- 31).

As it has been pointed out, a large majority of the students expect to go on to university. But there are some, especially in the technical schools, who don't, and among those who do, there are differences between the academic degrees aspired to (cf. Table 16).

TABLE 16

Educational Aspirations of Students by Type and Prestige of School

Type and prestige of schools	Total	Bachelor's	Master's	Ph.D.
	(ranges of cumulative percentages)			
General				
High prestige	100	95-97	87-88	53-54
Medium prestige	100	91-100	77-79	32-40
Low prestige	100	86-91	56-58	18-29
Technical	100	75-78	40-43	15-17

There is a continuous scale of rising aspirations from the technical schools at the bottom to the highest prestige general schools on the top.[8]

In addition to the type of school attended and its prestige, the other objective determinants investigated were the student's educational attainments (as measured by his grades) and the education of his father. It has to be seen what, if any, is the relative weight of these conditions, and to what extent do they explain satisfactorily the differences between the educational aspirations of the students.

The type of school and the education of the parents on the one hand, and the education of the parents and the scholastic grades of the students on the other hand are correlated. The first question, therefore, is to what extent does each of these variables influence aspirations when the other two are kept constant (cf. Table 17). The variable which explains the greatest part of the variation is the type and the prestige of the school. Next in order come the students' grades, followed by fathers' education.

Table 17 - Educational Aspirations by Type and Prestige (in the General Schools) of School, Students' Grades and Fathers' Education *

	Type of School															
	General												Technical			
	Prestige															
	High				Medium				Low							
Students' Grades	High or Medium		Low		High or Medium		Low		High or Medium		Low		High or Medium		Low	
Fathers' Education	High	Other	High	Other	High	Other	High	Other	High	Other	High	Other	High	Other	High	Other
Total N	20	29	14	16	8	21	6	11	5	20	10	11	44	141	21	35
Proportion Aspiring to obtain Masters or Ph. D. Degrees	.95	.90	.85	.75	.75	.76	.83	.63	1.	.60	.50	.36	.43	.45	.38	.29

* The additive model has been found appropriate for these data because of the generally good fit between the actual and the estimated "p"-s.

(footnote continued on p. 35)

(continuation of footnote to table 17)

Only in two of the cells is there some suggestion of interaction between fathers education and the other two variables (high education of fathers and high grades in the low prestige general and the technical schools). As the effects go in opposite directions, and the N in one of the cells is very small this may be the result of sampling error. Estimations have been made for General vs. Technical schools, and for High vs. Low Prestige General schools.

General vs. Technical schools

Pi (actual)	.91	.43	.79	.45	.73	.38	.61	.29
Pi* (estimated)	.87	.50	.79	.42	.73	.36	.65	.28

High vs. Low Prestige General schools

Pi (actual)	.36	.50	.60	1.	.75	.85	.90	.95
Pi* (estimated)	.41	.54	.57	.70	.71	.84	.87	1.

Cf. James Coleman, Introduction to Mathematical Sociology, London, The Free Press of Glencoe, pp. 189-199. The weighting procedure used was the one suggested by Richard P. Boyle, "Causal Theory and Statistical Measures of Effect: A Convergence", American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, No. 6 (December, 1966) pp. 843-847. However, the unweighted procedure was used for the estimations.

We are indebted to Dr. Erling O. Schild for his advice on the use of this model

The amount of the variation which is explained by the three variables is very high. This becomes particularly clear when categories which are at a relatively great distance from each other are compared, such as high and low prestige general schools and general and technical schools. (cf. tables 18-19).

Compared with either the graduates of the same schools, or the population in general, these aspirations are unrealistic. In answers to questions "what education do you think your teachers (friends) expect you to have in 20 years time from now? " there are indications that the students are aware of the unrealistic nature of their aspirations. (cf. Table 20).

It is obvious from this table that when the student was confronted with the task of, so to speak, looking at his educational future through the eyes of others, he judged it more modestly than when asked to speak about his own aspirations. There is a scale of decreasing expectations with the students' expectations on the top, followed in turn by the expectations he attributes to his friends and finally those attributed to his teachers. One is furthermore struck by the large percentage of those who answered "don't know". Unlike concerning occupational aspirations, there were, unfortunately, no separate questions about the expectations

TABLE 18

Differences in Educational Aspirations Between High and Low Prestige General High Schools

Effect of Prestige of School	.30 (significant)
" " Students' Grades	.16 (")
" " Fathers' Education	.13 (")

Source: Table 17

TABLE 19

Educational Aspirations by Scholastic Grades, Type of School and Fathers' Education

	Students' Grades							
	High or medium				Low			
Father's education:	High		Other		High		Other	
Type of School	General	Technical	General	Technical	General	Technical	General	Technical
Total N	33	44	70	141	30	21	38	35
Proportion aspiring to obtain Masters or Ph.D. Degrees:	.91	.43	.79	.45	.73	.38	.61	.29

Effect of type of School	.36 (significant)
Effect of the grades of the students	.15 (significant)
Effect of father's education	.06 (not significant)

TABLE 20

Perception of Teachers' and Friends' Expectations about Future Education by Schools

(General High Schools)

Schools	Students' Aspirations		Friends' Expectations			Teachers' Expectations		
	Bachelor at least	Master at least	Bachelor at least	Master at least	Don't know	Bachelor at least	Master at least	Don't know
1	97	88	70	40	19	35	25	37
2	95	87	52	33	40	44	25	38
3	91	77	48	21	34	43	19	27
4	100	79	58	17	28	48	17	21
5	91	56	51	29	37	40	21	38
6	86	58	40	9	44	33	11	27

of the best liked teachers and the best friends. It has been assumed that educational aspirations were more of a public matter in schools, than occupational ones, so that this distinction would not be necessary. This reasoning was apparently correct, as the percentage of "don't know" on this question is about the same as those given about the opinion of the best liked teacher and friend concerning occupational aspirations, but it is still larger than desired.

It seems that this category includes two different kinds of respondents. Those who are genuinely unaware of the expectations of their teachers (or their friends) on the one hand, and those who are disturbed by the contrast between their own high expectations, and the (perceived) low expectations of their teachers and/or friends. This can be seen from Table 21 which shows that students with medium and high grades tend to answer "don't know" less often than those with low grades, this tendency being particularly strong in the schools where relations between teachers and students are close, so that students are likely to know what their teachers expect from them.

TABLE 21

Percentage of Students who "don't know" about their Teachers Educational Expectations by Students Grades and Schools

Grades Schools		Low	(N)	Medium	(N)	High	(N)
Good Personal relations not considered important	1	42.9	(7)	39.1	(23)	35	(20)
	2	42.5	(40)	37.9	(29)	40	(10)
	3	28	(25)	33	(27)	15.4	(13)
Good Personal relations considered important	4	33	(9)	30	(10)	0	(4)
	5	34.6	(26)	26	(19)	0	(2)
	6	25	(12)	16.7	(6)	0	(1)

3) The objective variable which was of least significance in the determination of the students aspirations was the education of the father. As it appears from tables 22 a) and b) there is a relationship between these two in the general high schools, but none of any significance in the technical schools. The latter may well be a result of the small number of students whose fathers have higher education. In any case, however, it is clear that among the whole group of students the education of father has little influence on educational aspirations. This is in accordance with the findings about occupational aspirations. In both respects aspirations reflect a minimal influence of ascriptive criteria.

Another important negative finding is that no subjective variable was found to be significantly related to educational aspirations. Those investigated and found unrelated to educational aspirations were: the criteria used by the student in the evaluation of schools; images of stratification and status; and the advantages of the occupation chosen by the student.

Conclusions: (a) The educational aspirations of the students are uniformly high. Even in the technical schools only between one fourth and one fifth of the students intend to discontinue their studies at the end of their secondary schooling. In none of the general high schools is this percentage higher than 14.

(b) There is, however, a definite difference between the technical and the general high schools. In the former the modal aspiration is a Bachelor's degree; in the latter the mode is a Master's degree, followed closely by Ph. D.

TABLE 22
Educational Aspirations of Students by Father's Education
a. (General High School Population)

Son Father	Matriculation Certificate	Bachelor	Master	PhD	Total
Primary Education	8% 3 23%	30% 11 29%	27% 10 13%	35% 13 16%	100% 37 18%
High School Education	9% 8 62%	16% 15 41%	30% 41 55%	30% 28 34%	100% 92 44%
High Education	3% 2 15%	14% 11 30%	30% 24 32%	53% 42 50%	100% 79 38%
Total	6% 13 100%	18% 37 100%	36% 75 100%	40% 83 100%	100% 208 100%

b. Technical School Population

Son Father	Matriculation Certificate	Bachelor	Master	PhD	Total
Primary Education	23% 13 27%	45% 25 35%	21% 12 23%	11% 6 15%	100% 56 27%
High School Education	26% 32 68%	27% 33 46%	29% 35 67%	17% 21 65%	100% 121 60%
High Education	8% 2 5%	5% 12 19%	21% 5 10%	21% 5 17%	100% 24 13%
Total	23% 47 100%	35% 70 100%	26% 52 100%	16% 32 100%	100% 201 100%

(c) The main determinant of the aspirations was the type and the prestige of the school. This was followed by school grades and fathers' education.

(d) The aspirations are obviously unrealistic. An indication that this is somehow perceived by the students is found in the replies about the (perceived) expectations of the teachers and the friends concerning the eventual education of the student. These expectations are much lower than the aspirations of the student himself.

These attitudes are in accordance with the working of the Israel system of education. The main selection takes place at the transition from elementary to secondary schools and during the first two years of the secondary school. Those who complete their secondary education and pass the matriculation examination have had so far no difficulty continuing their studies at universities. Nearly 100% go on to some kind of higher education which, however, many of them never finish.[9] The great difference between high and medium prestige general high schools on the one hand and low prestige general and technical high schools on the other, reflects the extent to which these schools have been successful in preparing their students for the matriculation examination. The former have had a long record of success in this respect. Admission to them is, therefore, conceived by the students as practically equivalent to university admission. Grades obtained - as long as they are passing grades - are matters of secondary importance. On the other hand, low prestige high schools do not have this tradition. They are for many students a second choice, after having failed to be admitted to the few prestigious schools. Those of them who still do not make good lower, therefore their aspirations.

Practically, perhaps the most important conclusion is that for the overwhelming majority of students the high school is but a preparation for entrance to higher education. The same conclusion has been reached also in the previous chapter. While the implication there was a narrowing down of occupational choice, the implications here is a narrowing down of the educational purpose. Students view their schools and their educational experiences in them as related to their plans for higher education, but as practically nothing else. This probably impairs the function of the schools as an educational institute designed to cater to the needs of adolescents especially from the point of view of the few who do not go on to university, and the many who do, but drop out after a year or two.

IV. Occupational Aspirations and Careers of Graduates

1) What is the relationship between the aspirations of the present day students on the one hand and (a) the past aspirations and (b) the actual careers of those who were students ten years before on the other hand? Since the aspirations of the students from ten years before are reported in retrospect, one may suspect that they are biased by their subsequent careers. Had this been the case, there would have been an overwhelming correspondence between the reported aspirations and the actual attainments.

A comparison of aspirations with achievements, however, does not suggest that the former are retrospectively adjusted to the latter (cf. Tables 23, 24) as less than half of the respondents report working in the occupations for which they had originally aspired to.

Particularly great discrepancy between past aspirations and present day achievement is found among those who ended up in clerical-administrative occupations and in teaching. Practically none of these reported

TABLE 23

Occupational Aspirations and Attainment (General High Schools Graduate population)

Attainment / Aspirations	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	60.6 26 78.0	-	9.3 4 10.5	-	21.0 9 24.3	7.0 3 60.0	2.3 1 3.0	100% 43 24.9
Physicians	5.3 1 3.0	16.8 7 63.6	26.8 5 13.2	5.3 1 7.1	15.8 3 8.1	-	10.5 2 6.1	100% 19 11.0
Professions	6.0 3 9.0	2.0 1 9.1	48.0 24 63.1	12.0 6 42.8	22.0 11 29.7	-	10.0 5 15.2	100% 50 29.0
Teaching	-	-	-	50.0 1 7.1	50.0 1 2.7	-	-	100% 2 1.2
Administration	-	-	-	-	100% 3 8.1	-	-	100% 3 1.7
Skilled worker	-	-	-	50.0 1 7.1	-	-	50.0 1 3.0	100% 2 1.2
Other	5.8 3 9.0	5.8 3 27.3	9.6 5 13.2	9.6 5 35.7	19.2 10 27.0	3.8 2 40.0	46.1 24 72.7	100% 52 30.2
Total	19.1 33 100%	6.4 11 100%	22.0 35 100%	8.1 14 100%	21.5 37 100%	2.9 5 100%	19.½ 33 100%	100% 171 100%

TABLE 24

Occupational Aspirations and Attainment (Technical Schools, Graduate Population)

Attainment / Aspirations	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	28.6 8 57.1	-	-	17.9 5 29.4	7.1 2 10.0	28.6 8 12.3	17.9 5 20.0	100% 28 19.6
Physicians	50.0 1 7.1	-	-	-	-	-	50.0 1 4.0	100% 2 1.4
Professions	33.3 1 7.1	-	33.3 1 50.0	-	-	-	33.3 1 4.0	100% 3 2.1
Teaching	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Administration	-	-	-	-	100% 3 15.0	-	-	100% 3 2.1
Skilled worker	3.0 3 21.4		1.0 1 50.0	8.1 8 47.0	15.2 15 75.0	54.5 54 83.2	18.2 18 72.0	100% 99 69.3
Other	12.5 1 7.1	-	-	50.0 4 23.5	-	37.5 3 4.6	-	100% 8 5.6
Total	9.8 14 100%	-	1.4 2 100%	11.9 17 100%	14.0 20 100%	45.5 65 100%	17.5 25 100%	100% 143 100%

in the occupations chosen by more than a very few only engineers (among the general high school graduates) and skilled workers (among the technical high school graduates) reported aspirations mainly to the same occupations. Thus there is every indication that the respondents reported their past aspirations correctly.

This impression is corroborated by a comparison of the past aspirations of the graduates with the aspirations of the students today (cf. Table 25). Among the graduates, as well as among students, there have been very few who have aspired to become clerical-administrative workers or teachers, although thirty per cent of the graduates of the general high schools, and twenty-six per cent of those of the technical schools ended up eventually in these occupations. The only important difference between the aspirations of present-day students and their predecessors from ten years before is that more than twice the percentage of the graduates from the technical schools than the students in the same schools today reported aspirations to become skilled workers. (65 versus 31 per cent). Since, however, nearly one third of the former actually became something else, there is no reason to assume in this case either any tendency to make the memory of the past congruent with present day reality. The difference probably reflects a change in the aspirations of technical school students and the character of two of these schools throughout the period. Since 1956 they have become much more oriented to higher education.

TABLE 25

Students Occupational Aspirations and Graduates Past Occupational Aspirations by Type of School (percentages)

Type of school / Occupations	Technical		General	
	Graduates	Students	Graduates	Students
Engineering	19.6	52	24.9	21
Physics	1.4	-	11	9
Professions	2.1	6	29	44
Teaching	-	-	1.2	-
Administration	2.1	1	1.7	5
Skilled worker	69.3	31	1.2	3
Other	8	10	30	18
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	143	290	171	321

TABLE 26

Educational Achievement of Graduates by Occupations (percentages) (General High Schools population)

	Less than Bachelors	Bachelors	Masters + Ph.D.	Total	N
Teaching	18	18	64	100%	17
Administration	55	27	18	100%	33
All other occupations	25	37	38	100%	159

2) What determined that such a high proportion of the graduates ended up in occupations (clerical-administrative; teaching) which they were not interested in? As far as clerical-administrative work is concerned, they consist to a large extent of people who achieved educationally less than the others (cf. Table 26).

Because of their only moderate educational attainments, the professional careers to which they had originally aspired were barred to them. So they went into the less desirable careers in the various bureaucracies where a first degree, or even a high school matriculation certificate entitles them to some advantages.

Those who became teachers are, on the other hand, people who did realize their educational aims. Most of them reported that they had aspired ten years before for professional careers in general, or in some specific field (such as natural science, humanities, etc.). Having become teachers, is therefore, in most cases not a deviation from their original purpose, although it is probably not regarded by them as its optimal realization. It has to be noted that teachers in higher education are included in "professions"

All this fits in very well with the low preference expressed by present-day students towards bureaucratic employment in general, and the public sector (which employs the overwhelming majority of clerical-administrative personnel) in particular. They identify these organizations with clerical-administrative careers to be chosen only as a last resort, as indeed they appear to have been treated by the graduates.

3) A point where, as it has been pointed out in the first chapter, at the first sight there seems to have been a considerable change during the ten year period is the attitude of the parents toward the occupational choice of their children. Only 2-23 per cent of the students in the different schools report that their parents try to persuade them or to force their views about occupational choice on them. In contrast 34-39 per cent of the graduates say this about their parents. The contrast, however, may be deceptive. The graduates recalling the behavior of their parents probably refer to the whole process of occupational choice most of which takes place after graduation from high school and probably after discharge from the army . It is likely that the parents try to exert their influence mainly at these latter stages. Hence the contrast between the laissez-faire attitudes of the parents reported by the students, and the parental pressure reported by the graduates may not reflect any change of behavior through time, but rather that parents tend to be tolerant only as long as the choice is not imminent. When it is imminent, however, a large minority of them seem to make forceful efforts to influence the choice of their sons.

The impression of stability of attitudes and behavior during the ten year period which separates the two groups investigated is also born out: (a) by the comparison between the relationship between fathers and children's expectations in the two groups (cf. Tables 27, 28); (b) by the comparison of the aspirations of the students with the actual attainments of the graduates (cf. table 29).

TABLE 27

Father's and Sons Occupational Expectations by Type of School

(percentages) (Students Population)

Occupations	General High Schools		Technical Schools	
	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons
Professions	33	44	-	-
Engineering	21	21	53	52
Physicians	16	9	-	-
Skilled worker	-	-	26	31
All other	30	26	21	17
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 28

Father's and Sons Past * Occupational Expectations by Type of School. (percentages) (Graduates Population)

Occupations	General High Schools		Technical Schools	
	Fathers	Sons	Fathers	Sons
Professions	19	29	**	**
Engineering	24	27	17	18
Physicians	13	13	**	**
Skilled worker	**	**	31	65
All other	44	31	52	17
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

* 10 years ago

** Very small numbers,included in "All other" category.

TABLE 29

Students Occupational Aspirations and Graduates Attainments by Type of School (percentages)

	Technical Schools		General High Schools	
	Graduates Attainments	Students Aspirations	Graduates Attainments	Students Aspirations
Engineering	9.5	52	19.-	21
Physicians	-	-	6.5	9
Professions	1.5	6	22	44
Teaching	11	-	8 (51.5)	- (49)
Administration	14	1	21.5	5
Skilled Worker	45.5	31	3.-	3
Other	17.5	10	19.-	18
Total	100	100	100	100
N	143	290	171	321

The occupation most desired by both parents and students in the technical schools is engineer, while among the graduates it used to be skilled workers. (The reasons for this change have been pointed out above, p. 46). Otherwise the patterns are similar in both cases.

Most importantly, however, the actual mobility of the graduates has been as "perfect" as the desired mobility of the students. Parental occupation has not affected the past aspirations or the actual chances of the graduates at all, as it has not affected the aspirations of the students today (cf. Tables 30, 31, 32, 33 and Tables 8, 9 on p.18/9).

4) The perceived advantages of occupations among the graduates are similar to those among students, with the exception of "prestige" which

TABLE 30

Father's Occupation and Son's Occupational Aspirations. (General High Schools, Graduate Population)

Son Father	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Business	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	28% 8 17%	10% 3 13%	24% 7 14%	-	-	3% 1 25%	3% 1 50%	31% 9 18%	100% 29 16%
Physicians	-	20% 1 4%	-	-	-	20% 1 25%	-	60% 3 6%	100% 5 3%
Professions	14% 2 4%	21% 3 13%	28% 4 8%	-	-	-	-	36 % 5 10%	100% 14 8%
Teaching	38% 3 6%	25% 2 9%	-	-	-	-	-	38% 3 6%	100% 8 4%
Business	23% 7 15%	7% 2 9%	40% 12 23%	-	-	3% 1 25%	23% 1 50%	7 14%	100% 30 17%
Administration	22% 1 23%	10% 5 22%	17% 18 35%	2% 1 50%	-	2% 1 25%	-	27% 13 25%	100% 49 27%
Skilled worker	37% 11 23%	17% 5 22%	30% 9 18%	3% 1 50%	-	-	-	13% 4 8%	100% 30 17%
Other	33% 5 11%	13% 2 9%	7% 1 2%	-	-	-	-	47% 7 14%	100% 15 8%
Total	26% 47 100%	13% 23 100%	28% 51 100%	1% 2 100%	- 100%	1% 4 100%	1% 2 100%	28% 51 100%	100% 180 100%

TABLE 31

Father's Occupation and Son's Occupational Aspirations (Technical Schools, Graduate Population)

Son / Father	Engineer-ing	Physi-cians	Profes-sions	Teaching	Business	Adminis-tration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	60% 6 21%	-	-	-	-	-	40% 4 4%	-	100% 10 7%
Physicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professions		-	-	-	-	-	100% 4 4%	-	100% 4 3%
Teaching	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 1%	-	1 1%
Business	14% 4 14%	-	7% 2 100%	-	-	-	71% 20 20%	7% 2 33%	100% 28 20%
Administration	17% 6 21%	-	-	-	-	3% 1 33%	74% 26 26%	6% 2 33%	100% 35 25%
Skilled worker	16% 7 24%	5% 2 100%	-	-	-	2% 1 33%	77% 34 34%	-	100% 44 31%
Other	32% 6 21%	-	-	-	-	5% 1 33%	53% 10 10%	10% 2 33%	100% 19 14%
Total	21% 29 100%	1% 2 100%	1% 2 100%	-	-	2% 3 100%	70% 99 100%	4% 6 100%	100% 141 100%

TABLE 32

Father and Son's Occupations (General High Schools, Graduate Population)

Son / Father	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Business	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	17% 4 14%	4% 1 10%	35% 8 21%	4% 1 7%	-	17% 4 11%	4% 1 17%	17% 4 15%	100% 23 14%
Physicians	-	20% 1 10%	-	20% 1 7%	-	40% 2 6%	-	20% 1 4%	100% 5 3%
Professions	21% 3 11%	7% 1 10%	29% 4 11%	7% 1 7%	-	21% 3 8%	-	14% 2 7%	100% 14 8%
Teaching	-	-	-	20% 1 7%	-	40% 2 6%	20% 1 17%	20% 1 4%	100% 5 3%
Business	13% 4 14%	3% 1 100%	23% 7 18%	7% 2 13%	17% 5 83%	27% 8 22"	-	10% 3 11%	100% 30 18%
Administration	23% 11 39%	2% 1 10%	21% 10 26%	10% 5 33%	2% 1 17%	19% 9 25%	8% 4 66%	15% 7 26%	100% 48 29%
Skilled worker	17% 4 14%	13% 3 30%	30% 7 18%	13% 3 20%	-	17% 4 11%	-	9% 2 7%	100% 23 14%
Other	12% 2 17%	12% 2 20%	12% 2 5%	6% 21 7%	-	18% 3 8%	-	41% 7 26%	100% 17 10%
Total	17% 28 100%	6% 10 100%	23% 38 100%	9% 15 100%	4% 6 100%	22% 35 100%	4% 6 100%	16% 27 100%	100% 166 100%

TABLE 33

Father and Son's Occupation (Technical Schools, Graduate population)

Son / Father	Engineering	Physicians	Professions	Teaching	Business	Administration	Skilled worker	Other	Total
Engineering	25% 2 17%	-	-	12% 1 7%	-	-	63% 5 8%	-	100% 8 6%
Physicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Professions	33% 1 8%	-	-	-	-	-	66% 2 3%	-	100% 3 2%
Teaching	-	-	-	-	-	-	100% 2 3%	-	100% 2 2%
Business	14% 3 25%	-	5% 1 100%	23% 5 33%	5% 1 50%	5% 1 5%	41% 9 15%	9% 2 10%	100% 22 17%
Administration	5% 2 17%	-	-	3% 1 7%	-	29% 10 50%	43% 15 24%	20% 7 33%	100% 35 26%
Skilled worker	5% 2 17%	-	-	11% 4 27%	3% 1 50%	16% 6 30%	49% 18 29%	16% 6 29%	100% 37 28%
Other	8% 2 17%	-	-	15% 4 27%	-	12% 3 15%	42% 11 18%	23% 6 29%	100% 26 20%
Total	9% 12 100%	- 100%	1% 1 100%	11% 15 100%	2% 2 100%	15% 20 100%	47% 62 100%	16% 21 100%	100% 133 100%

is mentioned as important by twice the percentage of graduates as of the students. (cf. Table 34). This may be due to greater sensitivity to status (or slightly reduced "idealism") among the former.

TABLE 34

Perceived Advantage of Occupations by Graduates (10 years before) and Students. (Percentages)

	Graduates	Students
Interesting	80%	83%
Initiative*	62%	36%
Advancement	41%	36%
Prestige	27%	11%
High Income	22%	21%

* For Graduates the pre-coded answer was "Initiative and Creativity"; For the Students "Possibility of High Initiative". The returns on this item are, therefore, not strictly comparable

Among graduates those stressing "interest" do not tend to mention either prestige or income as advantages, on the other hand there is a close relationship between prestige, income and advancement. (cf. Table 35). There is, however, no relationship between the two types of syndromes and the occupations of the graduates, while among the students there appears to be a slight tendency among those stressing "income" and "advancement" to prefer engineering and medicine and

TABLE 35

Relationships between Perceived Advantages of Occupation (Gamma)

(Graduates Population)

	Prestige	Income	Advancement	Initiative*	Interesting
Prestige	-	.64	.56	.51	.17
Income		-	.73	.36	.02
Advancement			-	.35	.31
Initiative *				-	.31
Interesting					-

* (Initiative and Creativity)

TABLE 36

Father's Occupation by Type of School (Graduates* and Students population) (percentage)

Father's Occupation	Technical Schools		General Schools	
	Graduates	Students	Graduates	Students
Engineering	7%	1.3%	16%	9%
Professions	3%	1.7%	11%	11%
Administration	20%	40%	27%	40%
Business	17%	9%	17%	9%
Skilled worker	28%	42%	17%	22%
All other	25%	6%	12%	9%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	141	290	166	321

* Ten years before

γ

and among those stressing "interest" to choose professions in general (cf. above Table 10).

The most important conclusion of this comparison is that there has been a very great stability through time in the population, attitudes and occupational behavior of the students of these schools. The only important exceptions are: (a) The greater percentage (42%) of skilled workers among the fathers of the present-day students of the technical high schools as compared with the percentage among the fathers of the graduates who studied in the same schools ten years before (28%).* Although some of this difference may be due to the greater "mortality" of the sons of workers than of white collar fathers in the graduate sample, it also reflects a real change in the class composition of the students. The other change has been (b) the higher aspirations of the students in the technical schools today. The co-incidence of these two differences is certainly significant. Although the present day student population comes to a much greater extent from working class homes, its aspirations are much higher than those of their predecessors used to be. This corroborates the conclusion about the absence of relationship between parental occupation and the son's aspirations.

5) Comparison of the attainments of the graduates with the aspirations of the students show that the latter are much higher than the former; this is the case in all types of schools (cf. Table 37).

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* Cf. Table 36.

TABLE 37

Educational Aspirations of Students and Attainments of Graduates by Types of Schools (Cumulative Percentages)

	Aspirations (Students)			Attainments (Graduates)		
	Bachelors	Masters	Ph. D.	Bachelors	Masters	Ph. D.
General Schools						
High Prestige	95-97	87-88	53-54	79-81	37-55	19-29
Medium*	91	77	40	59	27	16
Technical Schools	75-78	40-43	15-17	4-35	0-16	0-8

* one school only

The very great differences at the lower end of the range in the technical schools are due to the previously mentioned changes in the curricula of two of the schools included and in the orientation of the students in general (cf. above p. 46). The differences are, however, considerable even in the school where there was no such change, as well as in the general schools. It is difficult to estimate to what extent is the difference due to a general raising of educational aspirations, and to what extent they are to be attributed to educational failure among the graduates. It appears, however, that educational success in the high school plays a more important role in the determination of actual success in higher education than in the determination of aspirations (cf. Table 38).

TABLE 38

Correlations between School Grades and a) Aspirations of Students b) Attainment of Graduates (General High Schools populations).

	a) Students	b) Graduates
Gamma	.32*	.40*

* p = <.001

The greater importance of the grades obtained in the high school in the determination of actual careers than in the determination of aspirations is also shown by the diminishing influence of the education of the father on the attainments of the graduates, as compared to its influence on the aspirations of the students (cf. Tables 39, 40).

The educational aspirations of the students are still to some extent determined by the parental background. The effect of this entirely disappears in the actual attainments of the graduates. These latter are entirely determined by grades and the types and qualities of the schools attended. Although this shows that the aspirations of the students contain many unrealistic elements, they confirm the views expressed by the students that educational (or occupational) opportunities - at least for this population - are independent of parental background.

TABLE 39

Father's Education and Students' Educational Aspirations

(General High Schools Population) (Cumulative Percentages)

Students Aspirations Father's Education	Some academic degree	Masters and Ph. D.	Ph. D.	N
Elementary	90%	62%	35%	37
Secondary	95%	73%	29%	93
High	94%	85%	55%	78

TABLE 40

Father's Educationand Graduates' Educational Attainments

(General High Schools Population) (Cumulative Percentages)

Students Aspirations Father's Education	Some academic degree	Masters and Ph. D.	Ph. D.	N
Elementary	66.2	40.7	29.3	44
Secondary	76.7	41.7	21.7	60
High	79.9	37.5	14.1	64

V. Conclusion

As it has been pointed out, the careers of the graduates show that there has been a very great stability and continuity in the way the schools in this survey have functioned during the last ten years (the only exception has been the rising educational and occupational expectations in the technical schools). They have recruited their students from roughly the same backgrounds, aroused in them similar expectations, and channelled them towards the same occupations as before.

One of the most important findings was the relatively little influence of the differences between the schools on the values and attitudes of the students. Although the schools differ from each other in their educational philosophies, goals (general versus technical), traditions, social composition of the student body and a variety of other things, the students have a very similar scale of educational and occupational values. The aspirations and the expectations of success of the students are higher or lower according to the scholastic reputation of the schools, but there are no qualitative differences between their goals. Their views of the occupational system and its underlying values are similarly uniform.

The influence of the schools on the levels of aspiration is decisive. It is greater than that of the parental background, and even than of the school grades. This stands out clearly if the present population is compared with that of a sample of U.S. high schools. There fathers education had a much greater effect on the students' college aspirations than differences between the schools.[10]

The very limited influence of parental background on aspirations and actual careers is due to the selectivity of the Israel high school system. Those who reach the 11th grade* are a smaller fraction of the population than those entering college in the U. S. or in Japan. Their views of themselves as a relatively selected group of the population with some claims for future élite status are probably comparable to those of U. S. college students or of the students of the upper grades of European high schools of the academic type. As far as U. S. college students are concerned this is more than a guess. Parental occupation (except farm) ceases to be a determinant of further scholastic success after entrance to college in the U. S. Progress depends on grades and the quality and type of school entered.[11]

The educational aspirations and the occupational values of U. S. college students are also similar to those which were found here. A study of a representative sample of college students shows that only 18 per cent did not intend to go to graduate or professional school.[11a] "Moderate but steady progress rather than the chance of extreme success or failure" which comes nearest to our "job security" was chosen by only 33 per cent as a desirable job characteristic; "making a lot of money" by only 24 per cent; "avoiding a high pressure job" by only 16 per cent of the respondents. Relatively high preferences for originality and creativity, and chance for leadership were similar to the emphasis on ability and interest in the present population. There were, however, two significant differences. "Opportunities to be helpful to others or useful to society" was chosen by 65 per cent (the highest percentage of all) while "freedom from supervision in my work" was thought as an important characteristic of a job by only 18 per cent.

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* in schools preparing for the matriculation

The Israel respondents, as it will be recalled, put "service to the country" low on their list of desired characteristics of a job, and had an overwhelming preference for independent work (although the question in this respect was asked separately from that on the desired characteristics of a job, so that the returns are not entirely comparable). The difference concerning "service to the country" is probably due to the fact that in Israel this is perceived as a highly emphasized and salient general duty of the citizen, especially as a result of universal military service, and the equalitarian and socialist economic system (Israel has, for instance, the smallest income differentials in the world). Students (and people in general) do not like to confuse, therefore, occupational values with those of service to the country. In a capitalist economy social responsibility is part of the personal responsibilities of the individual, in a socialist one, it is one of the functions of the collective.

The difference concerning independent work is probably the result of differences in the public stereotype of large organizations (which by the way, might have changed in the U.S. since then). In Israel they do not have high reputation for efficiency or for worker satisfaction.

The final question, of course, is, to what extent does the educational system achieve its professed goals. At first sight the reply to this appears to be highly positive. Creating motivation for further study, and imparting to the student the values of hard work, self expression, and a sense of social justice are certainly among the principal aims of the system and it seems to succeed in doing all this.

If, however, the criterion of success is the provision of the students with the intellectual tools and the motivation needed to establish satisfactory careers under the conditions existing in their country, or to change and adapt those conditions to their needs, then a different picture is obtained. The aspirations of the students are high, but the range of the aspirations is limited to very distinct types of careers. They want to study for higher degrees, enter into occupations where they are "neither in charge of others, nor subject to others", and to work outside any bureaucratic framework in the professions. The opportunities for professional employment have indeed rapidly increased during the last years (from about 7 per cent of the labor force in 1955 to about 11 per cent in 1967)[12], but this is still far from the stage where all those who reach the 11th grade can be absorbed in the professions. As to non-bureaucratic employment the aspirations are completely unrealistic. The percentage of self-employed in the labor force has decreased from 35.8 in 1955 to 29.7 in 1967, and in the "services" which includes most of the professionals it has vacillated between a mere 14-16 per cent throughout the same period.[13] The fact that these expectations are unrealistic is, of course, also corroborated by our findings about the graduates.

The optimism of our respondents about the chances of their success in realizing their occupational aspirations are, therefore, unrealistic. The expectations for what appears as a very high level of living, and the absence of worry about job security and income also appear as incongruent with existing conditions. This kind of image of the future would not be surprising among very wealthy youth. But in fact the large bulk of this group comes from families with modest incomes.

The largely deductive explanation of this incongruency which can be offered is as follows: This youth does not relate itself to its family background at all. This is a reasonable attitude on their part, since, as it has been seen, their chances for educational and occupational advancement are independent from their family backgrounds. That this is so, is made possible (a) through the support of higher education and students of higher education by the welfare state; and (b) through the self-effacing support of the parents. The former must be known to the respondents, the latter, as it has been seen (cf. above pp.16-17) is taken by them for granted.

It is obvious that this situation is so structured that the student will be rewarded for his individual scholastic efforts and success, but not at all for any contribution to the welfare of his family, the school, the country or any other group or organization.

This in itself may not be different from the situation of all youth engaged in full time study. But unlike in the past when this situation used to be confined to the world of youth and school, today, at least for this relatively privileged youth, the situation can be projected into the future. There is the ideal of professional work which appears as a continuation of the school. Entrance to it occurs through the passing of examinations, and the way of life in this type of work appears as a direct continuation of school life.

The unrealistic elements of the view of the future are then explained as projections of the school situation to professional work. This may also explain the preference for independent work. Although the school is a bureaucratic organization, the student is a client, rather than a member of the school bureaucracy. Even the role of the teacher, as of professionals in general, is insulated from the administration. He may, in fact, be alienated from the administration and somewhat hostile to it. That students may identify with these feelings is evident in the numerous student disturbances which have occurred lately all over the world.

If this interpretation is correct, then the success of the schools to shape the aspirations and the values of their students will appear as a less than optimal outcome. Instead of broadening the perspective of their students and thus enabling them to chose among opportunities more effectively, the schools channel the choice of the students into a single direction. This does not suit a great many of them. The fact that they are nevertheless attracted to higher education and to professional aspirations is probably facilitated by the low cost (for them) of higher education, and the relatively low risk involved in the studies. The latter is due to the circumstance that the large public bureaucracies present easy second choice for those who are unable to enter into truly professional careers. By offering improved conditions of employment for those who have some higher education, irrespective of the quality of that education or its relevance to the job, they provide a kind of insurance against educational failure. This creates a poor image of these bureaucracies in the eyes of youth which, of course, makes it difficult to reform them and make employment in them more rewarding.

This, however, is a side issue from the present point of view. The central problem is that education at this level seems to function as an increasingly closed system. Instead of preparing people for the careers available in society, or providing education for its own sake in a way which is explicitly unrelated to future occupation, it channels students selectively to the professions, and it alienates them from politics, business and administration as occupations.

As far as Israel is concerned the imbalance between aspirations and opportunities is subsequently corrected by universal army service. There young people find themselves in a bureaucratic organization which they respect and of which they are an integral part. They learn to appreciate organizational efficiency, administrative responsibility, and they learn the relevance of politics and industry (technology) to their own lives. The reward situation is here very different from that prevailing at school: organizational loyalty, leadership, enterprise and inventiveness are directly rewarded as determinants of personal advancement. This speculation that the army has all these effects can be supported by some evidence: (a) unlike business and government which have had difficulties recruiting first class young people, the army has not had difficulties in the recruitment of career officers; (b) army officers, who are usually retired in their fourties, have become a most important reservoir for industrial, administrative and political leadership.

It is, of course, impossible to make any generalizations from the situation prevailing in any single country. But, as it has been shown, the motivations aroused by the Israel educational system, and the structure of its rewards, are not too different from those which prevail elsewhere.

The narrowing down of occupational choice to the professions is also a widespread phenomenon. Perhaps the awareness of the discrepancy between this closed world of education on the one hand and the personal motivations and social needs on the other, contribute to the disillusionment with the upper reaches of the educational system in many countries around the world.

- NOTES -

1) For an investigation of similar effects of the school atmosphere cf. James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education, New York, The Free Press, 1961.

2) General high schools in Israel are divided in the last two or three grades into streams specializing in: mathematics-physics-chemistry; humanities; biology, and social sciences. Technical high schools have an even greater variety of specialities (electricity, mechanics, electronics, etc.). Most of the latter are not full fledged high schools, as they do not prepare their students to the matriculation examination which is a pre-requisite for enterance into the university. All the schools included in this survey do prepare for the matriculation.

3) In the overwhelming majority of tabulations there was no significant relationships between curricular types and student attitudes. In the few cases where there was such a relationship in one school, this was not parallelled by similar relationships in other schools, or further relationships concerning comparable items in the same school.

4) A detailed analysis of the correlates of these differences in terms of aspirations by Gadi Yatziv did not show any indication of causal relationships. He found certain relationships between the students' perception of the educational qualities of their schools, feelings of comfort at school, evaluation of the (practical) utility of education, and aspirations. These findings are preliminary, but in any case they only indicate the existence of certain patterns of perceptions, probably determined by the educational qualities of the schools and the aspirations of the students, rather than any explanation of the aspirations.

5) With the exception of those who attend the religious schools (- there are in Israel separate schools for those who strictly observe religious tradition. No school of this type was included in our sample).

6) There is a slight tendency for sons of "professional" fathers to choose professional occupations ("professions", "engineering", "physicians") to a greater extent than others. But, in view of the fact that "engineers" and "physicians" (which have been separated out from "professions" because of the special interest in these fields) do not show the same tendency, no importance should be attached to this.

7) About the ranking of occupations in industrial societies in general, cf. R. W. Hodge, D. J. Treiman and P. H. Rossi, "A Comparative Study of Occupational Prestige", in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power, New York, Free Press, 2nd edition, 1966, pp. 309-321.

8) It is interesting to note that, concerning the educational attainments of future spouses, there is no parallel scale of expectations. Few of the students expect their spouses to have higher degrees, and only 11% in all the technical and between 18-43% in the different general highschools expect them to have at least a first academic degree. The girls on the other hand, expect higher education ~~from their future husbands~~. Between 55-70% expect them to have at least a first degree; between 21-47% expect at least a second degree, and between 8-22% at least a Ph. D.

9) There were 7985 first year students in the academic institutions in Israel in 1966/67. The number of those who obtained their matriculation certificates in 1963/64 was 7255 cf. Statistical Abstracts of Israel, No. 19, 1968, pp. 542-543, Tables T/22 and T/23. The lag of two years between the matriculation examination and entrance to the university is due to army service ($1^{1}/_{2}$ years for girls; $2^{1}/_{2}$ years for boys), as a result of which a student enters university between two to three years after matriculation.

These data show that there are more entrants to academic higher education than theoretically possible on the basis of those who matriculated. This is particularly surprising, as some of those who matriculate do not continue their studies, while others enter non-academic higher education (teacher's seminars, schools for technicians, etc.). The difference is made up by foreigners and immigrants, and some older people who had completed their secondary schooling many years earlier.

An actual follow up of an age cohort was made by H. V. Muhsam, The Supply of Professional Manpower from Israel's Educational System, Jerusalem, 1959. According to this, 90% of those who matriculated in 1949-50 entered academic institutions.

10.)Cf. James S. Coleman, op. cit., New York, The Free Press, 1961, p. 270.

11)Cf. Joseph Ben-David, Professions in the Class System of Present-Day Society, Current Sociology, Vol. XII, No. 3 (1963/64), p. 287; Bernard Berelson, Graduate Education in the United States, New York, McGraw Hill, 1960, pp. 130-133. This seems to be the case also in Japan, as it is evident from the tremendous effort expended to get into the best universities.

12) Government of Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstracts of Israel, 1968, No. 19, Jerusalem, The Government Press, 1968, p. 268, Table K/15.

13) *Ibid.*, p. 265, Table K/12.

11a) James A. Davis. "*Undergraduate Career Decisions: Correlates of Occupational Choice*" Chicago, Aldine. 1965 pp. 201-202.

APPENDIX I

A - Questionnaire of High School Students

In this questionnaire we would like to find out your opinions and those of your friends concerning various problems connected with your studies, your relations with your friends and your hopes for the future.

These are not similar to examination-type questions, as there can be no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. Every student will answer them according to his personal feelings or beliefs. Please read every question before you answer, and answer all the questions. We have composed a few likely answers to most of the questions, thus you only have to circle the letter preceding the answer nearest to your opinion. Unless otherwise instructed give one answer only to every question.

All your answers will be kept in complete secrecy, and will be handled only by research workers.

Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Name:
2. School:
3. Year of Birth:
4. Which grade are you in:
5. Country of birth:
6. Year of Immigration:
7. Before you is a list of qualities which characterize a good school. Grade these qualities so that the most important characteristic, in your opinion, will be graded "1", the next "2", and so on.

   a. Gives a basic knowledge in every subject.
   b. High standard of teachers.
   c. Enables students to gain wide general knowledge.
   d. Well organized.
   e. Not accessible to everyone.
   f. High percentage of success in Matriculation exams.
   g. Good economic standing of students' families.
   h. Situated in a "good" neighborhood.
   i. Good relations between teachers and students.
   j. Lively social activity.

8. Which of the following qualities characterize your school, in your opinion:

   a. Gives a basic knowledge in every subject.
   b. High standard of teachers.
   c. Enables students to gain wide general knowledge.
   d. Well organized.
   e. Not accessible to everyone.
   f. High percentage of success in Matriculation exams.
   g. Good economic standing of students' families.
   h. Situated in a "good" neighborhood.
   i. Good relations between teachers and students.
   j. Lively social activity.

9. Name three of your best friends at school.

10. Have you any friends who do not study in your class? (You are requested to give only one answer).

    a. No, I have no friends who do not study in my class.
    b. Yes, I have better friends outside the class.
    c. Yes, I have as good friends outside the class as in the class.
    d. Yes, I have friends who do not study in my class, but they are not as good friends as those in my class.

11. (If former answer is affirmative): Where did you meet them?

    a. In the neighborhood.
    b. At work.
    c. Youth movement.
    d. Sport organization.
    e. Elsewhere (state where).

12. What is the general opinion among your friends as to the purpose of study? (Remember - one answer only).

    a. We study to advance in life.
    b. We study to gain knowledge.
    c. We study to gratify our parents' wishes.
    d. We study to acquire a diploma.

13. Among the types of curricula studied at your school, which has the highest prestige?

14. Which has the lowest prestige?

15. Which of your teachers is most accepted by your class (please state the subject this teacher teaches).

16. Why is the teacher accepted?

    a. He is learned.
    b. He is handsome.
    c. He teaches well.
    d. He treats his students well.
    e. He has a pleasing personality.
    f. Other reason (state which).

17. Let us consider that a student in your class is in need of advice not concerning study or school activity. Would you think it likely that he will turn to one of the teachers for aid?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

18. Have you ever spoken to any of your teachers about problems not concerning study?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

19. Do the teachers take an interest in students' problems that are unrelated to school activity?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

20. Does one of the teachers take an interest in your problems?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

21. (If former is affirmative): Who is the teacher (or teachers) who took an interest? (State subject taught by this teacher).

22. (If answer to question was affirmative): Were you satisfied with his interest?

    a. I was satisfied.
    b. It didn't really matter.
    c. I was displeased with it.

23. Are you a member of any sport organization?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

24. If yes, how much time approximately do you devote to this activity?

    a. Once a week.
    b. Twice a week.
    c. Between two and five times a week.
    d. Every day.

25. Do you study anything out of school?

    a. Yes, I receive aid in a subject taught at school. (Subject:)
    b. Yes, I study a subject not taught at school privately. (Subject:)
    c. Yes, I study a subject not taught at school with an orgaized group. (Subject:).
    d. No, I do not study anything out of school.

26. Are you a member of a youth movement?

    a. Yes, I entered the movement at the age of _____. (State entrance age).
    b. No, I am not a member, but I was once; I entered at the age of_____, and left when I was _____.
    c. No, I am not - and never have been in a youth movement.

27. (To youth movement members): How much time approximately do you devote to activity in the movement?

a. Less than once a week.
b. Once a week.
c. Twice a week.
d. Between two and five times a week.
e. Every day.

28. Do you belong to any organization not yet mentioned?

a. No, I do not belong to any organization not yet mentioned.
b. Yes, I belong to ___________.(Please state name of organization).

We will now ask various questions regarding different people's expectations of you. This does not mean that these people have expressly given their opinions. We want your feelings as to their expectations. Please read the questions carefully, and give every question one answer.

29. Do you feel that your teachers;

a. Expect you to acquire a doctorate.
b. Expect you to acquire a Master's Degree at the university or Technion.
c. Expect you to acquire a Bachelor's Degree at the university or Technion.
d. Expect you to acquire your Matriculation diploma.
e. Expect you only to acquire a vocational diploma.
f. Do not believe you will be able to acquire a Matriculation diploma.
g. Do not think you can acquire a vocational diploma.
h. I do not know if there are any expectations of me in this area.
i. If none of the above possibilities is suitable, write the appropriate answer here: ______________________________

30. Do you believe that your teachers expect you, in twenty years time, to be a:

a. senior civil servant.
b. scientist.
c. military officer.
d. craftsman.
e. politician.
f. merchant.
g. professional person. (doctor, lawyer, etc.)
h. teacher.
i. agriculturist.
j. clerk.
k. factory worker.
l. I do not know that there are any expectations of me in this area.
m. If none of the above is suitable, write the appropriate answer here:

____

31. Do you think that your teachers expect you, in twenty years, to be:

a. Very wealthy.
b. Earning a high income.
c. Earning an average income.
d. Earning a modest income.
e. I don't know of any expectations of me in this area.
f. If none of the above, fill in the appropriate answer:__________

32. Do you think that your teachers expect you, in twenty years time, to be:

a. a senior person at your place of work.
b. a person of average rank at your place of work.
c. a junior person at your place of work.
d. I do not know of any expectations of me in this area.
e. Other:______________________________

33. The above questions were related to the general opinion of your teachers. Now we would like to know the expectations of your favorite teachers, providing there is one. Do you think that his attitude encourages you to be a:

a. senior civil servant.
b. scientist.
c. craftsman.
d. factory worker.
e. military officer.
f. politician.

- g. merchant
- h. a professional person.
- i. teacher.
- j. agriculturist.
- k. clerk.
- l. I do not think that any teacher expects anything of me.
- m. Other:_______________

34. (If there is such a teacher): State the subject taught by him:____________

35. Are you considered by your teachers:

- a. an exceptionally good student.
- b. a very good student.
- c. a good student.
- d. an average student.
- e. below average.
- f. a very poor student.

36. Up to now we have asked questions relating to your teachers' opinions and expectations. Please notice that now we ask about your friends. We know that different friends have different opinions. We are interested in the view held by most of your friends about you as a student. They think I am:

- a. an exceptionally good student.
- b. a very good student.
- c. a good student.
- d. an average student.
- e. a below average.
- f. a very poor student.

37. Do you feel that your friends expect you to:

- a. Acquire a doctorate.
- b. Acquire a Master's Degree at the university or Technion.
- c. Acquire a Bachelor's Degree at the university or Technion.
- d. Acquire a Matriculation diploma only.
- e. Acquire a vocational diploma only.

f. Do not think that you will acquire your Matriculation diploma.
g. Do not think you will get a vocational diploma.
h. I do not know if anything is expected of me in this area.
i. Other:____________________

38. Do you think that your friends expect you, in twenty years time, to be a:

a. senior civil servant.
b. scientist.
c. craftsman.
d. factory worker.
e. military officer.
f. politician.
g. merchant.
h. a professional person.
i. teacher.
j. agriculturist.
k. clerk.
l. I do not know of any expectations of me in this respect.
m. Other:__________________

Some of my friends expect me to be ____________________
Others expect me to be ______________________________

39. Do you believe that your friends expect you to be twenty years from now:

a. Very wealthy.
b. Earning a high income.
c. Earning an average income.
d. Earning a modest income.
e. I do not know what is expected of me.
f. Other:____________________

40. Do you think that your friends expect of you, in twenty years from now to:

a. Hold a senior position in your place of work.
b. Hold an average position in your place of work.
c. Hold a junior position in your place of work.
d. I do not know if anything is expected of me by my friends in this respect.
e. Various friends expect different things: Some of my friends think that I will ______________________________ Others believe that I will ________________________________
f. Other:__________________

41. Till now we have inquired about the general opinion of your friends. Now we would like to know the opinion of your best friend. If you have such a friend, does he expect you, in twenty years time, to be a:

a. senior civil servant.
b. scientist.
c. craftsman.
d. factory worker.
e. military officer.
f. politician.
g. merchant.
h. a professional person.
i. teacher.
j. agriculturist.
k. clerk.
l. I don't believe my best friend expects anything of me.

42. (If you have such a friend): What is his name____________________.

43. In the next series of questions we will present two kinds of students who differ from one another in certain respects. Please encircle the name of the student who will be more appreciated by your teachers.We realize that it is not always possible to answer these questions with absolute certainty, but please try to:

Will Rueben or Simon be more appreciated by your teachers?

- Reuben is a brilliant student. If, however, one checks his remarks carefully, one is liable to find that he lacks accuracy.

- Simon is not a brilliant student, but whatever he says is accurate and well founded.

44. Will Reuben or Simon be more appreciated by your teachers?

- Simon knows a little of everything, but does not excell in anything.
- Reuben is an expert in some things, but knows very little about things that are out of the range of his special interests.

45. Will Reuben or Simon be more appreciated by your teachers?

- Simon succeeds because he is a dilligent, industrious student.
- Reuben succeeds as a result of his natural talent.

46. Will Rueben or Simon be more appreciated by your teachers?

- Reuben will always have an opinion - whether he is sure of it or not.
- Simon does not often proffer an opinion, yet when he does, it is always precise and well founded.

47. Will Reuben or Simon be more appreciated?

- Reuben is always ready to tell his teachers what he thinks, if he is convinced that he is right.
- Simon refrains from criticizing his teachers. Even if he believes that there is justification for criticism, he will generally accept their opinion.

48. Will Reuben or Simon be more appreciated?

- Simon knows everything that has been taught by the teacher, and everything written in the book. He does not, however, have ideas or opinions of his own, nor does he go very deeply into things.
- Reuben does not know or remember everything, yet he is profound and original.

49. While up to now we have questioned your teachers' attitudes, we will now refer to your friends. Again, you are requested to answer all the questions, (including those that are not easy to answer) as best you can.

Which of the two will be more appreciated?

- Reuben is a brilliant student. If, however, one devotes some thought to what he says, one is liable to find out that he lacks accuracy.
- Simon is not a brilliant student, but whatever he says is accurate and well founded.

50. Which of the two will be more appreciated?

- Simon knows something about every subject. He does not, however, excell in anything.
- Reuben is an expert in some things, but knows very little about that which is out of the range of special interest.

51. Which of the two will be more appreciated?

- Simon succeeds because he is a diligent, industrious student.
- Reuben succeeds as a result of his natural talent.

52. Which of the two will be more appreciated?

- Reuben will always have an opinion - whether he is sure of it or not.

- Simon does not often proffer an opinion, yet when he does, it is always precise and well founded.

53. Which of the two will be more appreciated?

- Reuben is always ready to tell his teacher what he thinks, if he is convinced that he is right.
- Simon refrains from criticizing his teachers. Even if criticism is justified, he will generally accept their opinions.

54. Which of the two will be more appreciated?

- Simon knows everything that has been taught by the teacher and everything written in the book. He does not, however, have any ideas or opinions of his own, nor does he go very deeply into things.
- Reuben does not know or remember everything, yet he is profound and original.

55. Let us assume that your class decided to organize a theatrical evening - (or similar activity). The evening was a great success thanks to the leadership, ability and zeal of Simon. May we expect that most of the teachers will know of Simon's success?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

56. If they will know, will they in any way acknowledge their appreciation of Simon?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

57. Reuben is a good student who privately helps his friends when they encounter difficulties. Simon too is a good student, yet he does not render assistance to his friends. If your teachers will discover this, will they express their appreciation to Reuben?

    a. Yes.
    b. No.

58. A few students go to the movies. At the box-office, they try to jump the queue. One of your teachers is present. Will he express his views on this in class?

    a. Every teacher will express his views on this in class.
    b. Most of the teachers will express their views on this in class.
    c. A minority of the teachers will express their views on this in class.
    d. None of the teachers will express their views on this in class.

59. What would be the reaction of the class to an occurance of this kind?

    a. There would be unanimous public opinion against these students.
    b. Part of the students would be against these students.
    c. No one will forward an opinion.
    d. Part of the students will approve of the offenders.
    e. The whole class will approve of the offenders.

60. Supposing that your teacher will meet two of their former students. Each of them has chosen different paths in life. Mark X next to the name of the one who is more likely to earn a higher appreciation by his teachers as a consequence of his choice.

- Simon has succeeded in business. He is wealthy and maintains a very high standard of living.
- Reuben, too, has prospered in business. While being as wealthy as Simon, he lives in a relatively modest way.

61.- Reuben has joined a kibbutz, where he is in charge of a successful branch.
- Simon went to study medicine, and is now a successful doctor.

62. -Simon teaches in the immigrant city of Dimona, in the Negev, and cannot advance or become proficient in his own studies.
-Simon teaches in Tel Aviv, where he can devote much time to improving himself and advancing in his profession.

63. -Reuben is a good engineer. He devotes all his time to his personal progress and improvement - but he does not take part in any social or public activity.
-Simon is a good engineer who devotes some of his time to social and public activity - sometimes even at the expense of his personal improvement.

64. Every morning when you go to school, do you feel that school is:

a. A heavy burden that is overcome with difficulty.
b. A burden - but one that can be easily overcome.
c. A pleasant place to be in.

65. When school is over for the day, and you are free to go home, do you generally feel that:

a. "Thank God, I finally got through another day of study".
b. A feeling of satisfaction as a consequence of a job well done.

66. Generally during lessons:

a. Do you wait impatiently for the bell to ring.
b. You pay no attention to the time.

67. Which occupation would you like to choose as your future?

68. What are the advantages of this occupation?
(Mark the three most important advantages).

a. It promises a sure income.
b. It is an interesting occupation.
c. I grew up in this occupation - it is a family trade.

d. This profession is most fitting to my talents and natural bent.

e. This is the best way I can serve my country.

f. It is anoccupation which promises a high income.

g. This is an occupation which does not demand physical exertion.

h. This occupation enables development of personal initiative.

i. The work in this occupation does not involve much emotional strain.

j. It is a prestigious occupation.

k. This occupation affords many opportunities for advancement. (After you have circled the three most important reasons, add two more circles around the most important one, and one more circle around the cause that is second in its importance).

69. If, for some reason, you will not be able to follow your chosen occupation, which alternative would you choose?

70. What are the advantages of this (alternative) occupation?

71. Do you believe that in your future occupation you will be (remember to give only one answer)?

a. In charge of a large number of people and under the authority of no one.

b. In charge of a small number of people - but under the authority of no one.

c. In charge of a number of people - under the authority of others.

d. In charge of a small number of people - under the authority of others.

e. Neither in charge of anyone - nor under any authority.

f. Under the authority of others - not in charge of anyone.

72. Would you prefer to work:

a. In a privately-owned establishment.

b. In a government-owned establishment.

c. In your own, independent establishment.

d. In a publicly owned, non-governmental establishment.

73. Which of the following kinds of work appeal to you?

    a. A job that is steady and stable - does not entail many changes.
    b. A job that does not run according to a constant, regular routine. One that includes variety and changes.

74. What is the rank or degree you hope to achieve in the occupation of your choice?

    a. Very high.
    b. High.
    c. Average.
    d. Less than average.

75. In how many years, approximately, do you expect to achieve your goals?

    a. Within 3 years or less.
    b. Between 3 to 5 years.
    c. Between 5 to 7 years.
    d. Between 7 to 10 years.
    e. More than 10 years.

76. Do you think that your chances of achieving this goal are:

    a. Very good.
    b. Definitely good.
    c. Good.
    d. Fairly good.
    e. Average.
    f. Few.

77. On what do you base your expectations of success? (Mark three possible answers).

    a. On my talent and ability.
    b. On the effort I intend to put into the work.
    c. On the efforts of other people - (parents and others who are close to me).
    d. On the good connections that my parents have with people who are able to help me.

Please read again your answers and grade them by their importance - giving the most important answer the number "1" the next "2" and the third "3".

78. To achieve your goals, you will doubtless have to work hard, study and save money. Which of the following, do you think, are most important? (Please encircle the three most important things - then grade them according to those that you will need most - by numbering them. The most important will be "1", then "2", etc.).

    a. I will need good connections with people who are able to help me.
    b. I will need connections with various organizations or political parties.
    c. I will have to work very hard.
    d. I will have to train myself continuously while I work.
    e. I will need the aid of my parents (and/or other relatives).
    f. I will need a lot of money.
    g. I will need luck.

79. In which occupation would you prefer your future wife (or husband) to be employed?

80. What is the minimum standard of education that you will expect your future wife (or husband) to have?

    a. Less than elementary.
    b. Elementary school.
    c. Partial high school.
    d. Technical.
    e. High School.
    f. Partly academic.
    g. Academic - Bachelor's Degree.
    h. Academic - Master's Degree.
    i. Doctorate.

81.a Let us suppose that a person who is willing to study and undergo lengthy training up to the age of thirty can earn, as a result of these studies IL. 3000 a month. For the duration of his studies, however, he must live very frugally.

b. A person who is willing to study only till the age of 27 will be able to earn IL 1500 a month. During his studies he will also have to live frugally.

c. A person who will start work immediately on being discharged from the army will earn between 500 and 700 IL a month, and will not have to live frugally.

Which of the three possibilities would you choose?

a. I would choose the first.
b. I would choose the second.
c. I would choose the third.

82. Let us suppose that you have to take a very important examination. To achieve a very high grade "10" you will have to study so hard that you will be bound to forgo every kind of amusement or entertainment (movies, theater, youth movement, etc.). If you will want some amusement during this period, you will have to be satisfied with an "8". More entertainment will cost you yet another mark, and you will get "7". If you really want to have a good time you will only be able to get "6". Which of these opportunities would you choose?

a. I would forgo all entertainment to achieve a 10.
b. I would be satisfied with 8 - and go out a little.
c. I would be satisfied with 7 - and have a fairly good time.
d. I would be satisfied with 6 - and have a really good time.

83. On what, in your opinion, does a persons occupational advancement depend in our country?

a. The length of time he has been in the country.
b. Diligence and ability.
c. Good connections.
d. Luck.
e. Education and proficiency.
f. Thrift.
g. Origin.
h. Talent.
i. To belong to a political party - or another organization.

(After you have marked the three main things, please grade them according to importance).

84. Is advancement in Israel - as regards an ordinary person - generally:

a. Very difficult.
b. Difficult.
c. Quite easy.
d. Very easy.

85. Do you believe that there is a specific group of people in the country for which it is harder to improve and advance than for others?

a. Yes.
b. No.

86. If you have answered the former question affirmatively - who are these people?

(NOTE: We do not mean people who lack personal characteristics as talent, ability, ambition, etc. We mean people who belong to a certain group; for instance - earning a certain income, citizens of certain cities, immigrants of a certain country, people with a certain kind of education, people who belong to a certain organization, etc.). Please notice that the above list only serves as an example. You will doubtless find other groups of people by yourself. Think very carefully and then state the name of the group of people who, in your opinion, find it harder to progress.

87. Is there any group of people in Israel that the general public respects more than others?

a. Yes.
b. No.

88. If you have answered the former question affirmatively - who are these people?

(Remember that we do not mean character traits).

89. Is there any group of people in Israel that is less respected by the general public than the others?

a. Yes.
b. No.

90. (If former answer was "Yes") - Who are these people?

91. Is there any group of people which has a greater influence on public affairs than the average citizen?

92. If so, who are these people?

93. Is there any group in Israel which has less influence on public affairs than the average citizen?

94. If so, who are these people?

95. Is there a group of people in the country who find it easier to advance than others?

a. Yes.
b. No.

96. If so, who are these people? (Please note that people who lack talent, ability, etc. find it difficult to advance anywhere. Is there any other condition that could influence advancement?).

97. Is it customary to talk about your future occupation and that of your brothers at your home?

a. We talk about it often.
b. We talk about it fairly often.
c. We mention it from time to time.
d. We rarely talk about it.
e. We never talk about it.

98. If you do speak about it at home, do you:

a. Enjoy these conversations.
b. Feel comfortable about these conversations.
c. Feel disturbed by these conversations.
d. Do not particularly mind one way or another.

99. Which occupation do you think your parents would like you to choose?

100. What are the advantages your parents see in such a occupation? (Please read the list of possible answers carefully, then encircle the three which seem most important to your parents):

a. It promises a sure income.
b. It is an interesting occupation.
c. I grew up in this occupation - it is a family trade.
d. This is an occupation which suits my talent and ability.
e. This is the best way in which I can serve my country.
f. This occupation affords a high income.
g. This occupation does not demand great physical exertion.
h. This occupation enables development of personal initiatives
i. The work in this occupation is not accompanied by a severe mental strain.
j. It is a prestigious occupation.
k. In this occupation one has many opportunities to progress.

(After having marked the three most important considerations, please read again your answers and grade them by marking the most important one as "1", the next "2", and so on).

101. Do your parents try to influence you in any way regarding the choice of your future career?

a. Yes, they are trying to compell me to act according to their wishes.
b. Yes, they are trying to persuade me to act according to their wishes.
c. Yes, they advise me to act according to their wishes.
d. Yes, they express their views on the subject.
e. No, they do not express their views on the subject.

102. How often do you go to the theater?

a. Twice a week or more.
b. About once a month.
c. Once every two months.
d. Once every six months approximately.
e. Less than once in six months.
f. I do not go to the theater.

103. How often do you go to the movies?

a. More than twice a week.
b. About twice a week.
c. About once a week.
d. About once a fortnight.
e. About once a month.
f. Less than once a month.
g. I don't usually go to the movies.

104. Approximately how much time do you devote to listening to the radio?

a. Four or more hours a day.
b. Between 1 - 3 hours a day.
c. Less than an hour a day.
d. I don't listen every day.
e. I don't usually listen to the radio.

105. Do you read the daily newspaper?

a. Yes, every day.
b. Yes, between 3 - 4 times a week.
c. Once a week.
d. Less than once a week.
e. I do not usually read the daily newspaper.

106. What are the sections that you usually read?

a. Economic.
b. Sport.
c. Political information.
d. Political articles.
e. Cinema.
f. Literature.
g. Other:____________

107. Which newspaper do you usually read?

108. How many persons live in your home?

109. How many rooms are there in your home?

110. Where do you live?

____

(CITY) (DISTRICT) (STREET)

111. Please fill in the following table about your family. (NOTE: the explanations at the end of this page).

	Country of Birth	Year of Immigration	Education 1	Occupation 2	Place of Work 3	Occupation 4
Father						
Mother						
Brother						
Brother						
Sister						
Sister						

(1) Education can be: Elementary, High School (partial), High School, Technical, Agricultural-Highschool, Talmudic School, Teachers Seminar, partial academic, "still-studying" (state where), "without formal education".

(2) State the occupation: doctor, industrialist, clerk, teacher, merchant, engineer, tailor, etc.

(3) State place of work, for example: Ministry of Finance, Friedman Factory, private office, etc.

(4) State occupation in place of work, for example: salesman, teacher of lower classes, mechanical engineer, chief-engineer, etc.

****

1. What level of education do you intend to attain?

   a. I will be satisfied with a diploma from the school I am now attending.
   b. I will take various training courses.
   c. I will attend a university or Technion with a view to obtain a Bachelor's Degree.
   d. I will attend a university or Technion with a view to obtain a Master's Degree.
   e. I will attend a university or Technion with a view to obtain a doctorate.

2. In what way can your parents help your advancement or occupational development?

   a. They can help me in my studies.
   b. They can connect me with suitable people.
   c. They can give me financial aid.
   d. They can pass over to me some of their experience and worldly advice.
   e. My parents' good name will afford many opportunities.
   f. They can give me no aid whatsoever.
   g. They are liable to retard my progress.

3. Do you intend to make use of their help?

   a. Yes, I will.
   b. Probably.
   c. No, unless special circumstances arise.
   d. No, I definitely won't.

4. As far as you are able to judge, are your career plans final, or do you think they may change?

   a. My plans are final.
   b. My plans are quite stable.
   c. My plans are not very stable.
   d. My plans are not at all stable.

B - Interview Schedule of High School Graduates

1. Name of your school.
2. Other high schools in which you have studied.
3. In which year did you take your matriculation examination?
4. What division did you study in?
5. What kind of matriculation examination did you take:a. internal; b. external.
6. Which of the following are characteristic of your school?

- Gives a basic knowledge in every subject.
- High standard of teachers.
- Gives students wide general knowledge.
- The school was well organized.
- The school was not open to everyone.
- A high percentage of success in the matriculation exams.
- Most of the students' families were of good economic standing.
- The school was situated in a 'good' neighborhood.
- Good teacher-student relations.
- Lively social activity.

7. Please return to the former question, and grade the characteristics according to their importance.
8. Name one school which is better than yours, and one which is not as good.
9. Which of the following was most emphasized by your teachers:

a. Social activity.
b. Order and behavior.
c. Studies.
d. Problems of organization.
e. Other:(state which)____________

10. Which of the above was deemed most important?
11. Which was thought least important?
12. Did all the teachers insist on the same things?

a. Yes.
b. No.

13. How was the insistance on the above expressed?

a. Many reproofs.
b. Lowering of grades.
c. Students were sent out of class.
d. Teachers would contact parents.
e. Students would be sent home.

14. Which character trait of the students, in your opinion, was most appreciated by your teachers and the school administration. (Mark the three most appreciated characteristics, then grade them by their importance).

- Social success.
- Will and effort.
- Talent.
- Mutual aid.
- Manners & punctuality.
- Success in studies.
- Honesty and diligence.
- Originality of thought.

15. Which of the above was never emphasized by your teachers?

16. Name the qualities that were highly respected by your teachers.

a. Manual labor.
b. Bettering one's self by one's efforts.
c. National mission.
d. Pioneer work.
e. Personal proficiency.

17. Which of the above was never mentioned - or was seen as a negative thing by your teachers?

18. What did your teachers see as the ultimate goal of studies?

a. Learning for its own sake.
b. A means to success in life.
c. A means to enter higher education.

19. Was it customary to stand up when a teacher came into class?

20. Was it custormary to stand up when one wanted to speak in class?

21. Did you address your teacher:

a. By his first name.
b. As 'Mr. _____'.
c. 'Sir'.
d. Every teacher in a different manner.

22. Was it accepted to turn to a teacher for advice on matters not concerning study or school activity?
    - a. Yes.
    - d. No.

23. (If former answer was affirmative) - What kind of advice was generally sought?

24. Did you ever seek advice from a teacher on matters not concerning school?

25. (If former answer was affirmative) - What did you speak to him about?

26. With which teacher?

27. Why did you go to this teacher?

28. Did the teachers generally show an interest in students' problems even if these problems were not concerned with school activities?
    - a. Generally they did.
    - b. Not frequently.
    - c. No.

29. (If your former answer was affirmative) - Which teacher, or teachers showed an interest in these problems?

30. What was the prevailing view in your class as to the ultimate goal of study?
    - a. One studies so as to be able to use these studies in the future.
    - b. One studies to acquire knowledge.
    - c. One studies to gratify one's parents' wishes.
    - d. One studies to acquire a diploma.

31. What was the general attitude to a student who studied seriously and succeeded?
    - a. He was respected.
    - b. He was held in contempt.
    - c. Jealousy.
    - d. Attitude was determined by other things, not by success.

32. What was the general attitude to a student who did not study much, and did not particularly succeed?

    a. He was respected.
    b. He was held in contempt.
    c. He was pitied.
    d. Attitude was determined by other things, not by his failure.

33. Which teacher was most accepted by the class?

34. How did he earn this appreciation?

    a. He had a wide range of knowledge.
    b. He taught well.
    c. He taught an interesting subject.
    d. He was of a pleasing personality.
    e. He behaved nicely toward his students.

35. Which student was most accepted by your class?

36. Why was he (or she) most accepted?

37. (If there is no answer to question no. 35). According to which qualities was a a pupil generally judged by the class?

38. Who was your best friend in class?

39. Did your teachers generally use punishments?

40. If so, which kind of punishments were used?

41. What was your attitude to diligent and successful students?

    a. I generally respected them.
    b. I did not have much respect for them.
    c. I was jealous of them.
    d. I did not judge them by their diligence or success.

42. Mark the habits which were prevalent among your fellow students:

- a. Smoking.
- b. Drinking.
- c. Political conversations.
- d. Cultural activity(theater, etc.)
- e. Sportive activity & movies.
- f. Dancing.
- g. Visiting bar-rooms.
- h. Sitting in restaurants.
- i. Hiking and other excursions.

43. Were you, while studying, satisfied with your school?

- a. Yes.
- b. No.

44. In which of the following fields were you active?

- a. Class committee.
- b. Any school activity.
- c. Student council.
- d. None.

45. What was your specific task in each of the above fields?

State the quantity of your activity in the above fields.

Large
Medium
Small

46. What field of activity was most respected by your class?

47. Were you in a youth movement or other organization?

48. If yes, which one?

49. Between which ages did you participate in the above movement?

50. What kind of relations existed between teachers and students at your former school?

- a. Close relations.
- b. A feeling of conflict & tension.
- c. Obediance so as to benefit from studies.
- d. Indifference.

51. Did you feel, while studying, that your school was directing you towards a certain area of occupation (e. g. the liberal professions, manual labor, etc.).

52. If so, which field were you directed to?

53. Do you think the school was orienting you toward any specific occupation(e. g. Medicine, Education, Civil Service, etc.)?

54. If so, which one?

55. Were you encouraged to seek a higher education?

56. If so, what kind of education?

57. (If answers to questions 51-56 were affirmative) - How were you encouraged?

    a. Infrequent references to the subject.
    b. In special lectures devoted to the subject.
    c. Personal conversations with the teachers.
    d. The atmosphere of the institution.

58. Did any of the teachers hold continuous conversations on these subjects?

59. If yes, who was the teacher?

60. How often, approximately, did these conversations take place?

61. Do you think that your teachers wanted you to choose any specific occupation for your future?

62. If yes, which occupation?

63. What were the relations between you and your teachers?

    a. Close.
    b. A feeling of conflicts & tension.
    c. You were obediant so as to gain maximum benefit from your studies.
    d. Indifferent relations.

64. How frequently did you go to the movies?

a. Once a week.
b. More than once a week.
c. Less than once a week.
d. I did not usually go to the movies.

65. Did you go to the theater or concerts?

a. Once a month.
b. More than once a month.
c. Less than once a month.
d. I didn't usually go to the theater or concerts.

66. Did you read the daily newspaper?

a. Every day.
b. Not regularly.

67. Did you go to synagogue?

a. Every day.
b. On Saturday.
c. On holidays.
d. I did not usually go to synagogue.

68. Were your plans for the future discussed at home?

69. Which occupation did your parents want you to choose?

70. Why did they want this particular occupation?

a. It was a responsible occupation.
b. A 'clean' occupation.
c. A healthy occupation.
d. A comfortable occupation.
e. A stable, secure job (not involving danger).
f. An occupation which promises a high income.
g. A family trade.
h. Many opportunities for advancement.
i. An interesting occupation.
j. Affords many opportunities for exercising personal talent & initiative.

(Grade according to importance).

71. Did your parents try to influence you to choose this occupation?

72. If yes, how?

73. Were your best friends:

a. studying in your school?

b. not in the school? (Where did friendship originate?).

74. Fill in the table:

Table I: Occupation & Educational Changes and Demographical Information about Family.

	Education	Occupation	Place of Work	Job	Date of birth	Country of birth	Year of Immigration
Father: Today 10 years ago							
Mother: Today 10 years ago							
Brother 1: Today 10 years ago							
Brother 2: Today 10 years ago							
Sister 1: Today 10 years ago							
Sister 2: Today 10 years ago							
Wife: Today 10 years ago							
Father in Law: Today 10 years ago							

Education: Elementary, High School (partial), High School, Technical - Highschool, Teachers Seminary, Academic (partial), Academic, Religious Institute, 'Still-Studying'.

Occupation: Secretary, Teacher, Laborer, Shopkeeper, Engineer, Doctor, (state whether independent or otherwise).

75. In which year did you enlist in the army?

76. When were you discharged?

77. What was your last military branch?

78. What rank were you discharged with?

79. What unit did you serve with?

80. Which courses did you complete during your military service?

81. Where did you work since leaving school?
Fill in table.

Table II: Occupational Changes According to Periods.

Period From - To	Occupation	Place of Work	Job / Grade start/end	start/end	Reason for Change

If the change involved any improvement, state what this improvement consisted of:

a. A respectable occupation.
b. A 'clean' occupation.
c. A healthy occupation.
d. A comfortable occupation.
e. A stable, secure job.
f. A high income.
g. A family trade.
h. Many opportunities for advancement.
i. An interesting job.
j. Affords opportunities for developing talent & zeal.

83. State you adresses (over 6 months residence) since leaving the army.

84. Why did you move from place to place?

85. Have you done any further study (including special training courses)since leaving highschool?

86. If yes, fill in the table.

Table III: Training Courses.

	Period	Country	Institute	For what field did you register?	What field did you finish?	Diploma	Remarks
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							

Table IV:Membership in Organizations

	Name of Organization	From. (date)	Were you Active	Time devoted to activity	How is activity expressed/task	Are most of your friends members?	Why are you a member?
Vocational yes no			yes no				
Political yes no			yes no				
Voluntary yes no			yes no				

87. Have you any other regular job?

88. If yes, which one? (state place of work, occupation, rank, number of working hours a week).

89. Do you generally take various temporary jobs?

90. If yes, which kind?

91. Are you satisfied with your occupation?

92. Are you satisfied with the training you received?

93. Are you satisfied with your rate of advancement?

94. Are you satisfied with your chances of future advancement?

95. Are you satisfied with your present income?

96. Are you satisfied with the prestige afforded by your present job?

97. Have you any plans to change your present occupation?

98. If yes, what are your plans? (state field of occupation, place, country, institute, degree).

99. If yes, why are you interested in the above change?

100. Are your chances of achieving this goal:

a. Good.
b. Fair
c. Slight.
d. Non-existent.
e. Other.

101. What circumstances are likely to help you?

102. What conditions are liable to retard your achievements?

103. Are you the owner of:

a. A private car.
b. A working vehicle(jeep, truck, etc.)
c. A small car belonging to your place of work.
d. None of the above.

104. Would you like a car of your own (if negative answer to question no. 103)?

105. If yes, do you think you stand a chance of obtaining one:

a. Soon.
b. Sometime.
c. Never.
d. Other:___________

106. Where do you live?

a. In your parents' house.
b. In a rented room.
c. In your own apartment.
d. Other:_______________

107. What kind of lodging is it?

a. A rented apartment in a housing project.
b. A private apartment in a housing project.
c. A rented apartment.
d. A private apartment.
e. A private house.
f. Other:______________________

108. How big is the house?

109. Do you intend to change your residence?

110. If yes, why?

111. If not, why?

112. When do you intend to change?

113. What kind of residence do you intend to move into? (Answer according to answers given in question no. 107).

114. Do you belong to any kind of organization?

115. If yes, please fill in table 4 on page no. 10.

116. Which occupation did you prefer 10 years ago?

117. Why did you want this occupation?

a. A respectable occupation.
b. A 'clean' occupation.
c. A healthy occupation.
d. A comfortable occupation.
e. A stable, secure job.
f. A high income.
g. A family trade.
h. Many opportunities for advancement.
i. An interesting job.
j. Affords opportunities for development of talent & initiative.

118. (If 10 years ago you were still uncertain) - When, approximately, did you start forming definite plans for your future?

119. What was the occupation you decided upon?

120. Did you have alternative occupational plans? If yes, which were the alternatives?

121. Did you realize your original plans?

122. Did you realize your plans as far as occupation is concerned?

123. Did you realize your plans concerning the kind of job you had in mind?

124. Did you realize your plans concerning the level or grade in work?

125. Did you realize your plans concerning income?

126. Into which social groups would you divide the Israeli population?

127. Has one of these groups a higher prestige than other groups?

128. If yes, which group?

129. Which group has the lowest prestige?

130. To which of the above groups do you belong?

131. To which of the above groups do your parents belong?

132. To which group do you intend to belong in the future?

133. What is a person's advancement based upon in Israel? (Mark and grade three answers).

    a. Talent.
    b. Attachment to a political party or other organization.
    c. Good connections.
    d. Luck.
    e. Length of time in the country.
    f. Proficiency and education.
    g. Country of origin.

134. Is a person's advancement in Israel generally:

    a. Very difficult.
    b. Difficult.
    c. Relatively easy.
    d. Very easy.
    e. Other:__________

135. Do you believe that any group of people finds it more difficult to advance than others?

136. If yes, who are these people?

137. Year of birth.

138. Country of birth.

139. Year of immigration.

140. Family status.

141. Married in.

General Remarks of the Interviewer

Date

Signature

APPENDIX II

Table I: Student's Perception of a) Teachers' b) Students' evaluation of Types of Student by School. (percentages)

1) "Prefer Accuracy and Thoroughness to Brilliance"

	School	a) Teachers	b) Students
General High School			
	1	60	69
	2	62	85
	3	69	73
	4	68	87
	5	87	67
	6	68	63
Technical High School			
	7	83	80
	8	93	86
	9	71	81

2) "Prefer Expertism in a Few Things to Knowing Little"

	School	a) Teachers	b) Students
General High School			
	1	43	57
	2	62	58
	3	48	50
	4	50	55
	5	47	52
	6	35	48
Technical High School			
	7	49	49
	8	55	49
	9	53	54

3) "Value Natural Talent More than Diligence and Industry"

		a)Teachers	b)Students
General High School			
	1	38	83
	2	33	94
	3	25	77
	4	32	96
	5	29	85
	6	35	90
Technical High School	7	38	77
	8.	32	77
	9	28	80

4) "Prefer Student who does not Express an Opinion When He is Not Sure of it to One Who Always Has an Opinion Whether Sure of it or Not"

		a)Teachers	b)Students
General High School			
	1	60	57
	2	56	54
	3	60	52
	4	66	61
	5	72	38
	6	65	71
Technical High School			
	7	65	58
	8	65	58
	9	66	70

5)"Approve of Students Criticising Teachers Where Convinced of Being Right"

		a) Teachers	b) Students
General High School			
	1	44	98
	2	39	96
	3	30	93
	4	38	91
	5	48	92
	6	52	90
Technical High School			
	7	54	90
	8	59	84
	9	48	90

6)"Approve of Student Who Does Not Remember Everything Taught by the Teacher if Profound and Original"

		a) Teachers	b) Students
General High School			
	1	66	81
	2	44	95
	3	45	84
	4	51	87
	5	58	75
	6	55	84
Technical High School			
	7	51	77
	8	60	77
	9	56	85

Table II: Student's Perception of Teachers' - preference for Different Ways of Life by Schools. (percentages)

1)

		Simon is a wealthy man today but lives on a modest standard.	Reuben is a wealthy man today and has a high standard.
General High School			
	1	60	40
	2	59	41
	3	67	33
	4	66	34
	5	71	29
	6	75	25
Technical High School			
	7	62	38
	8	70	30
	9	57	43

2)

		Reuben is a teacher in the new immigrant town Dimona, and as a result could not continue his studies.	Simon is a teacher in Tel Aviv; spends much of his time in further training & advances.
General High School			
	1	44	56
	2	51	49
	3	58	42
	4	49	51
	5	47	53
	6	66	34
Technical High School			
	7	44	56
	8	51	49
	9	51	49

3)

		Simon is a good engineer who spends some of his free time on public activities, even at the expense of his professional advancement.	Rueben is a good engineer who spends all his free time in further training and professional advancement and is not involved in public affairs.
General High School			
	1	25	75
	2	27	73
	3	14	86
	4	22	78
	5	17	83
	6	4	96
Technical High School			
	7	21	79
	8	29	71
	9	26	74

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4)

		Simon went to the university and he is a successful physician today.	Rueben went to a kibbutz and he is today a successful branch manager.
General High School			
	1	94	6
	2	94	6
	3	95	5
	4	95	5
	5	95	5
	6	66	34
Technical High School			
	7	86	14
	8	84	19
	9	92	8